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RED RADICALISM

AS DESCRIBED BY ITS OWN LEADERS

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Exhibits Collected

By
A. MITCHELL PALMER
Attorney General

INCLUDING VARIOUS COMMUNIST MANIFESTOES,
CONSTITUTIONS, PLANS, AND PURPOSES OF THE
PROLETARIAT REVOLUTION, AND ITS
SEDITIONOUS PROPAGANDA



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1920

**RED RADICALISM AS DESCRIBED BY ITS OWN
LEADERS.**

FOREWORD.

In the following data, constituting authentic copies of original documents published by various branches of the Communist press in Russia and the United States, the purposes, history, and character of the Red Radical Movement is serially furnished, not by hearsay, but under the authoritative sanction of its own progenitors.

Exhibit No. 1 is the Report of Louis C. Frana, International Secretary of the Communist Party of America, describing fully its antecedents, birth, and projects, and follows the form of an application of the Communist Party of America to be accepted in the Bureau of the Communist International as a "major party."

Exhibit No. 2 is the manifesto of the Third Communist International adopted at Moscow March 2-6, 1919, and signed by Comrades C. Rakovsky, N. Lenin, M. Zinerzen, L. Trotsky, and Fritz Platten. It is an exhaustive statement of the rationale, principles, and program of Russian Bolshevism and its ambition for world-wide dominion.

Exhibit No. 3 is the responsive and cooperating Manifesto, Constitution, and Program of the Communist Party of America.

Exhibit No. 4 represents the form of application for membership in this party, containing the pledge to active enlistment in its seditious work.

Exhibit No. 5 gives the Novomirski Manifesto of the Anarchists-Communists organized in the Federation of Unions of Russian Workers of The United States and Canada, similar in purport to the manifestoes of previously numbered exhibits and containing particularly the declaration "We are atheists; we are communists; we are anarchists." "You all have one task—to destroy the world of gain and create a world of freedom; for all there is one means—an armed insurrection and forcible seizure of all instruments and all products of toil." "Woe to the enemies of the laboring class!"

Exhibit No. 6. "Your Shop" is an evidence of the sabotizing of labor and labor unions prescribed in the communist program.

Exhibit No. 7. The State—Strike Breaker, of like use but aimed at the defamation of government and the employing class.

Exhibit No. 8. A proclamation of the Communist International against the Versailles Peace, designed to exert influence toward its failure of ratification.

Exhibit No. 9. An example of the Russian Bolshevik propaganda among our soldiers in Siberia.

Striking passages in these exhibits are printed in black type for convenience.

The whole is submitted for the furtherance of a more realizing popular appreciation of the menace involved in the unrestrained spread of criminal Communism among the masses.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

EXHIBIT 1.

REPORT OF LOUIS C. FRAINA, INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

As International Secretary, I make application for admission of the Communist Party of America to the Bureau of the Communist International as a major party.

The Communist Party, organized September 1, 1919, with approximately 55,000 members, issues directly out of a split in the old Socialist Party. The new party represents more than half the membership of the old party.

1. SOCIALIST PARTY, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, I. W. W.

The Socialist Party was organized in 1901, of a merger of two elements: (1) Seceders from the Socialist Labor Party, like Morris Hillquit, who split away in 1899 largely because of the S. L. P.'s uncompromising endeavors to revolutionize the trades-unions; (2) the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, a purely middle-class liberal party tinged with Socialism, of which Victor L. Berger was representative.

The Socialist Labor Party, organized definitely in 1890, acted on the basis of the uncompromising proletarian class struggle. Appearing at a period when class relations were still in state of flux, when the ideology of independence, created by the free lands of the West, still persisted among the workers, the Socialist Labor Party emphasized the class struggle and the class character of the proletarian movement. Realizing the peculiar problems of the American movement, the Socialist Labor Party initiated a consistent campaign for revolutionary unionism and against the dominant craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor, which, representing the skilled workers—"aristocracy of labor"—sabotaged every radical impulse of the working class. The S. L. P. was a party of revolutionary Socialism, against which opportunist elements revolted.

The Spanish-American War was an immature expression of American Imperialism, initiated by the requirements of monopolistic Capitalism. A movement of protest developed in the middle class, which, uniting with the previous impulses of petty bourgeois and agrarian radicalism, expressed itself in a campaign of anti-Imperialism. There was a general revival of the ideology of liberal democracy. The Socialist Party expressed one phase of this liberal development; it adopted fundamentally a non-class policy, directing its appeal to the middle class, to the farmers, to every

temporary sentiment of discontent, for a program of government ownership of the trusts. The Socialist Party, particularly, discouraged all action for revolutionary unionism, becoming a bulwark of the Gomperized A. F. of L. and its reactionary officials, "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." This typical party of opportunist Socialism considered strikes and unions as of minor and transitory importance, instead of developing their revolutionary implications; parliamentarism was considered the important thing, legislative reforms and the use of the bourgeois state the means equally for waging the class struggle and for establishing the Socialist Republic. The Socialist Party was essentially a party of State Capitalism, an expression of the dominant moderate Socialism of the old International.

But industrial concentration proceeded feverishly, developing monopoly and the typical conditions of Imperialism. Congress—parliamentarism—assumed an aspect of futility as Imperialism developed and the Federal government became a centralized autocracy. The industrial proletariat, expropriated of skill by the machine process and concentrated in the basic industry, initiated new means of struggle. The general conditions of imperialistic Capitalism developed new tactical concepts—mass action in Europe and industrial unionism in the United States, the necessity for extraparlimentary means to conquer the power of the state.

The old craft unionism was more and more incapable of struggling successfully against concentrated Capitalism. Out of this general situation arose the Industrial Workers of the World, organized in 1905—an event of the greatest revolutionary importance. The I. W. W. indicted craft unionism as reactionary and not in accord with the concentration of industry, which wipes out differences of skill and craft. The I. W. W. urged industrial unionism, that is to say, a unionism organized according to industrial division: all workers in one industry, regardless of particular crafts, to unite in one union; and all industrial unions to unite in the general organization, thereby paralleling the industrial structure of modern Capitalism. Industrial unionism was urged not simply for the immediate struggle of the workers, but as the revolutionary means for the workers to assume control of industry.

Previous movements of revolutionary unionism, such as the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the American Labor Union, united in the I. W. W. The Socialist Labor Party was a vital factor in the organization of the I. W. W., Daniel De Leon formulating the theoretical concepts of industrial unionism. Industrial unionism and the conception of overthrowing the parliamentary state, substituting it with an industrial administration based upon the industrial unions, was related by De Leon to the general theory of Marxism.

The Socialist Party repeatedly rejected resolutions endorsing the I. W. W. and industrial unionism, although supporting I. W. W. strikes by money and publicity. The Socialist Party supported the

A. F. of L. and craft unionism, rejecting the revolutionary implications of industrial unionism—the necessity of extraparlimentary action to conquer the power of the state.

After the panic of 1907 there was an awakening of the American proletariat. New and more proletarian elements joined the Socialist Party. Industrial unionism developed an enormous impetus, and violent tactical disputes arose in the party, particularly in the Northwest, where the new unionism was a vital factor. These disputes came to a climax at the Socialist Party Convention of 1912. The tactical issue of industrial unionism was comprised in the problem of whether parliamentarism alone constituted political action, whether parliamentarism alone could accomplish the revolution or whether extraparlimentary means were indispensable for the conquest of political power. The Socialist Party Convention, by a large majority, emasculated the Marxian conception of political action, limiting it to parliamentarism; an amendment to the party constitution defined political action as "participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform." That year the Socialist Party, by means of a petty bourgeois liberal campaign, polled more than 900,000 votes for its presidential candidate; but thousands of militant proletarians seceded from the party in disgust at the rejection of revolutionary industrial unionism, while William D. Haywood, representative of the industrialists in the party, was recalled on referendum vote as a member of the National Executive Committee.

The organization of the Progressive Party in 1912 made "progressivism" a political issue. The Socialist Party adapted itself to this "progressivism." But this progressivism was the last flickering expression of radical democracy; Theodore Roosevelt harnessed progressivism to Imperialism and State Capitalism. A new social alignment arose, requiring new Socialist tactics.

2. THE WAR, THE SOCIALIST PARTY, AND THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION.

After 1912, the party officially proceeded on its peaceful petty bourgeois way. Then—the war, and the collapse of the International. The official representatives of the Socialist Party either justified the betrayal of Socialism in Europe, or else were acquiescently silent, while issuing liberal appeals to "humanity."

As the war continued and the betrayal of Socialism became more apparent, and particularly as the American comrades learned of the revolutionary minority elements in the European movement, there was a revolutionary awakening in the Socialist Party, strengthened by new accessions of proletarian elements to the party. The first organized expression of this awakening was the formation of the Socialist Propaganda League in Boston, in 1916, issuing a weekly organ

which afterwards became "The New International," with Louis C. Fraina as Editor and S. J. Rutgers as Associate. The League emphasized the necessity of new proletarian tactics in the epoch of Imperialism. In April, 1917, was started "The Class Struggle," a magazine devoted to International Socialism. In the State of Michigan, the anti-reformists captured the Socialist Party, and carried on a non-reformist agitation, particularly in "The Proletarian."

The enormous exports of war munitions, the development of large reserves of surplus capital, and the assumption of a position of world power financially by American Capitalism forced the United States into the war. There was an immediate revolutionary upsurge in the Socialist Party. The St. Louis Convention of the Party, in April, 1917, adopted a militant declaration against the war, forced upon a reluctant bureaucracy by the revolutionary membership. But this bureaucracy sabotaged the declaration. It adopted a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism, uniting with the liberal People's Council, which subsequently accepted President Wilson's "14 points" as its own program. Moreover, there was a minority on the National Executive Committee in favor of the war; in August, 1918, the vote in the N. E. C. stood 4 to 4 on repudiation of the St. Louis Declaration. The Socialist Party's only representative in Congress, Meyer London, openly supported the war and flouted the party's declaration against the war; but he was neither disciplined nor expelled—in fact, secured a renomination. Morris Hillquit accepted the declaration against the war, but converted it into bourgeois pacifism, being a prominent member of the People's Council. In reply to a question whether, if a Member of Congress, he would have voted in favor of war, Hillquit answered ("The New Republic," December 1, 1917): "If I had believed that our participation would shorten the world war and force a better, more democratic, and more durable peace I should have favored the measure, regardless of the cost and sacrifices of America. My opposition to our entry into the war was based upon the conviction that it would prolong the disastrous conflict without compensating gains to humanity." This was a complete abandonment of the class struggle and the Socialist conception of war. The war was a test of the Socialist Party and proved it officially a party of vicious centrism.

The Russian Revolution was another test of the party. Officially, the Socialist Party was for the Menshevik policy and enthusiastic about Kerensky; while the New York "Call," Socialist Party daily newspaper in New York City, editorially characterized Comrade Lenin and the Bolsheviks in June, 1917, as "anarchists." The party officially was silent about the November Revolution; it was silent about the Soviet Government's proposal for an armistice on all fronts, although the National Executive Committee of the Party met in December and should have acted vigorously, mobilizing the party for the armistice. But the revolutionary membership re-

sponded, its enthusiasm for the Bolshevik Revolution being magnificent. This enthusiasm forced the party representatives to speak in favor of the Bolsheviks, but always in general terms capable of "interpretation." After the Brest-Litovsk peace, there was a sentiment among the party representatives for war against Germany "to save the Russian Revolution."

The Socialist Party carried on an active campaign against intervention in Russia. However, this campaign did not emphasize the revolutionary implications of the situation in Russia, as making mandatory the reconstruction of the Socialist movement. A campaign against intervention must proceed as a phase of the general campaign to develop revolutionary proletarian action.

3. THE LEFT WING DEVELOPS.

During 1918 the Socialist Party was in ferment. The membership was more and more coming to think in revolutionary terms. Then came the armistice and the German Revolution. The response was immediate. On November 7, 1918, a Communist Propaganda League was organized in Chicago. On November 9 Local Boston, Socialist Party, started to issue an agitational paper, "The Revolutionary Age." This paper immediately issued a call to the party for the adoption of revolutionary Communist tactics, emphasizing that the emergence of the proletariat into the epoch of the world revolution made absolutely imperative the reconstruction of Socialism. In New York City, in February, 1919, there was organized the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party. Its Left Wing Manifesto and Program was adopted by local after local of the Socialist Party, the Left Wing acquiring a definite expression. The Left Wing secured the immediate adhesion of the Lettish, Russian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, South Slavic, Hungarian and Esthonian Federations of the party, representing about 25,000 members. The official organs of the Federations did splendid work for the Left Wing.

In January, 1919, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party decided to send delegates to the Berne Congress of the Great Betrayal. This action was characteristic of the social-patriot and centrist bent of the party administration. There was an immediate protest from the membership, the Left Wing using the Berne Congress as again emphasizing the necessity for the revolutionary reconstruction of Socialism. In March we received a copy of the call issued by the Communist Party of Russia for an international congress to organize a new International. "The Revolutionary Age" was the first to print the call, yielding it immediate adhesion; while the Left Wing Section of New York City transmitted credentials to S. J. Rutgers to represent it at the congress. Local Boston initiated a motion for a referendum to affiliate the party with the Third International; this was thrown out by the national administration of the party on a technicality; but after much delay another local succeeded in

securing a referendum. (The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the Third International.)

The Left Wing was now, although still without a definite organization, a formidable power in the Socialist Party. Previously all revolts in the party were isolated or consisted purely of theoretical criticism; now there was this theoretical criticism united with a developing organization expression. There was not, as yet, any general conception of the organization of a new party; it was a struggle for power within the Socialist Party.

About this time the call for the new Socialist Party elections was issued. The Left Wing decided upon its own candidates. The elections constituted an overwhelming victory for the Left Wing. The national administration of the Socialist Party, realizing the impending disaster, decided upon desperate measures. Branch after branch and local after local of the party, which had adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program, was expelled. Morris Hillquit issued a declaration that the breach in the party had become irreconcilable, and that the only solution was to split, each faction organizing its own party. At first the expulsions were on a small scale; then, the danger becoming more acute, the national administration of the party acted. The National Executive Committee met in May determined to "purge" the party of the Left Wing. The N. E. C. was brutal and direct in its means; it refused to recognize the results of the elections, declaring them illegal because of "frauds." It issued a call for an emergency national convention on August 30, which was to decide the validity of the elections, meanwhile appointing an "investigating committee." But in order to insure that the convention would "act right," the N. E. C. suspended from the Party the Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, South Slavic, Lettish, and Lithuanian Federations, and the Socialist Party of Michigan State. In all, the N. E. C. suspended 40,000 members from the party—a deliberate, brazen move to control the election of delegates to the convention.

The charge of "fraud" was an easily detected camouflage. The elections were so overwhelmingly in favor of the Left Wing candidates as to prove the charge of fraud itself a fraud. For international delegates the vote was (excluding three states, where the returns were suppressed, but which would not alter the results): Left Wing candidates—John Reed, 17,235; Louis C. Fraina, 14,124; C. E. Ruthenberg, 10,773; A. Wagenknecht, 10,650; I. E. Ferguson, 6,490. Right Wing candidates—Victor L. Berger, 4,871; Seymour Stedman, 4,729; Adolph Germer, 4,622; Oscar Ameringer, 3,184; J. L. Engdahl, 3,510; John M. Work, 2,664; A. I. Shiplacoff, 2,346; James Oneal, 1,895; Algernon Lee, 1,858. Louis B. Boudin, who was pro-war and against the Bolshevik Revolution, secured 1,537 votes. The Left Wing elected 12 out of 15 members of the National Executive Committee. The moderates who had been dominant in the Socialist Party were overwhelmingly repudiated. Kate Richards

O'Hare (supported by the Left Wing, although not its candidate) defeated Hillquit for International Secretary, 13,262 to 4,775.

The N. E. C., after these desperate acts and after refusing to make public to vote on the referendum to affiliate with the Communist International, decided to retain office until the convention of August 30, although constitutionally it should have retired on June 30.

The issue was now definite. No compromise was conceivable. Events were directly making for a split and the organization of a new party. The Old Guard was concerned with retaining control of the Socialist Party organization, even if minus the bulk of the membership; the Left Wing was concerned with the principles and tactics.

5. THE NATIONAL LEFT WING CONFERENCE AND AFTER.

Just prior to the session of the National Executive Committee, Local Boston, Local Cleveland and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, issued a call for a National Left Wing Conference, which met in New York City on June 21. The Conference was composed of 94 delegates representing 20 states, and coming overwhelmingly from the large industrial centers, the heart of the militant proletarian movement.

There was a difference of opinion in the Conference as to whether a Communist Party should be organized immediately, or whether the struggle should be carried on within the Socialist Party until the emergency convention August 30. The proposal to organize a new party immediately was defeated, 55 to 38. Thereupon 31 delegates, consisting mostly of the Federation comrades and the delegates of the Socialist Party of Michigan, determined to withdraw from the Conference. The majority in the Conference decided to participate in the Socialist Party emergency convention, all expelled and suspended locals to send contesting delegates; but issued a call for a convention September 1 "of all revolutionary elements" to organize a Communist Party together with delegates seceding from the Socialist Party convention.

One important thing was accomplished by the Left Wing Conference—it made definite the issue of a new party, which until that moment was very indefinite. The minority in the Conference emphasized the inexorable necessity for the organization of a new party. This was in the minds of practically all, but it now became a definite conviction. There were centrists in the Conference who still felt that the old party could be captured, who recoiled from a split; and these voted with the majority to go to the Socialist Party convention; but the majority in the majority was convinced of the necessity for a new party, differing with the minority of 31 simply on the right procedure to pursue.

After the Conference, the minority of 31 issued a call for a convention on September 1 to organize a Communist Party, repudiating all participation in the Socialist Party convention.

In the course of its development the Left Wing while Communist in its impulse, had attracted elements not all Communist. There were conscious centrists; comrades who had for years been waging a struggle for administration control of the party; and comrades who were disgusted with the gangster tactics pursued by the Old Guard in control of the party administration. The situation now began to clarify itself—Right Wing, Centre, Left Wing.

The important factor in this situation was the division in the organized Left Wing—the National Council, elected by the Left Wing Conference, and the minority which had organized a National Organization Committee and issued its own call for a Communist Party convention. This constituted more than a split in the Left Wing: it was a split of the conscious Communist elements in the Left Wing. This division, if persisted in, meant disaster. Unity was necessary—not simply organization unity, which at particular moments must be dispensed with, but revolutionary unity. This unity was accomplished by agreement for the merger of the two factions on the basis of a Joint Call for a Communist Party convention on September 1.

The overwhelming majority of the organizations and delegates represented at the Left Wing Conference accepted the Joint Call.

The Left Wing had found itself, unified itself, determined upon the organization of a real Communist Party.

5. THE CONVENTIONS AND REVOLUTIONARY RECONSTRUCTION.

The Socialist Party Convention met on August 30th. The repudiated National Executive Committee manipulated the roster of delegates to insure Right Wing control, dozens of delegates suspected of sympathy for the Left Wing being contested and refused admission to the convention. The police was used against these delegates—an indication of the potential Noske-Scheidemann character of the Old Guard of the Socialist Party. The Left Wing was stigmatized as anarchistic, as consisting of foreigners, as an expression of emotional hysteria. The Socialist Party convention was ruthlessly dominated by the Right Wing, which used the camouflage of greetings to Soviet Russia and words about the "Revolution." It did not adopt a new program in accord with the new tactical requirements of Socialism, avoiding all fundamental problems. The Socialist Party convention adopted a resolution calling for an "international congress" to organize the "Third International," to include the Communist Party of Russia and of Germany, but ignoring the existing Communist International! A minority resolution to affiliate with the Communist International was decisively defeated. The two resolutions are submitted to referendum vote. (There is a group still in the Socialist Party styling

itself "Left Wing" which is unscrupulously trying to garner sentiment for the Communist International to revitalize the old party.) The Socialist Party now represents about 25,000 members.

The delegates refused admission to the Socialist Party convention proceeded to organize their own convention, the first act of which was to proclaim itself the "legal convention" of the Socialist Party—a beautiful centrist twist! These delegates organized themselves as the Communist Labor Party. This was on Sunday, Aug. 31.

On Monday the Communist Party convention met with 140 delegates representing approximately 58,000 members.

A committee of five from the "Left Wing" convention met with a committee of the Communist Party to discuss unity. The C. L. P. offered unity "on a basis of equality," that is, to combine the two conventions as units, delegate for delegate. This the Communist Party rejected. The delegates in the Communist Labor Party convention were a peculiar mixture, some of them openly repudiating the Left Wing principles and tactics, others notorious Centrists. The Communist Party committee proposed that all delegates at the Communist Labor convention having instructions to participate in the Communist party convention (about 20) should come in as regular delegates; while delegates whose organizations had adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program, but who were not instructed to organize a Communist Party (about 20), would be admitted as fraternal delegates. The other delegates, representing an unknown constituency, or no membership at all, who were simply disgruntled at the Old Guard for its gangster tactics, could not be allowed to participate in the organization of a Communist Party.

The Communist Labor Party convention refused this offer and proceeded to organize a permanent party. The delegates organizing the C. L. P. represented not more than 10,000 members, many of whom are now joining the Communist Party.

This third party adventure was the result of a number of factors: personal politics, centrism, and the fact that Communist elements from the Western States had not been in close touch with the more rapid developments in the East.

Having consciously organized a third party, the Communist Labor Party is now making "unity" its major campaign. The former Left Wing organizations are almost entirely accepting the Communist Party, achieving unity through membership action. One word more: the C. L. P. speaks much of "an American Communist movement" and fights our party on the issue of "Federation control." This is malicious. There has been one disagreement with the Federation comrades: concerning this, it might be said that the Federation comrades may have been too precipitate and the American comrades too hesitant. But the Federation comrades have worked earnestly for an

uncompromising Communist Party. In any event, if the Federations offer any problem, it is a problem of internal party struggle and action. The sincerity of the Federation comrades, all other considerations aside, is attested by their yielding administrative power to the non-Federation comrades.

The Communist Party Manifesto is a consistent formulation of Communist fundamentals; its Program a realistic application of these fundamentals to the immediate problems of the proletarian struggle; its constitution based upon rigorous party centralization and discipline, without which a Communist Party builds upon sand.

6. THE GENERAL SITUATION.

The Communist Party appears at a moment of profound proletarian unrest. There has been strike after strike, developing larger and more aggressive character. There is now a strike of more than 300,000 workers in the steel industry, a really terrific portent to American Capitalism.

There is a revolutionary upsurge in the old unions; the longshoremen of Seattle have just refused to allow munitions for Kolchak & Co. to be transported. There is a strong sentiment in favor of the Russian Soviet Republic. In the unions the workers are becoming conscious of the reactionary character of their officials, and movements of protest and a sentiment for industrial unionism are developing.

But the American Federation of Labor, as a whole, is hopelessly reactionary. At its recent convention the A. F. of L. approved the Versailles peace treaty and the League of Nations, and refused to declare its solidarity with Soviet Russia. It did not even protest the blockade of Russia and Hungary! This convention, moreover, did all in its power to break radical unions. The A. F. of L. is united with the government, securing a privileged status in the governing system of State Capitalism. A Labor Party is being organized—much more conservative than the British Labor Party.

The Industrial Workers of the World is waging an aggressive campaign of organization. It has decided to affiliate with the Communist International; but its press and spokesmen show no understanding of Communist tactics. The I. W. W. still clings to its old concepts of organizing all the workers industrially, gradually "growing into" the new society, as the only means of achieving the revolution; a conception as utopian as that of the moderate Socialist, who proposes to "grow into" Socialism by transforming the bourgeois state. The Communist Party endorses the I. W. W. as a revolutionary mass movement, while criticising its theoretical shortcomings.

Imperialism is now consciously dominant in the United States. In his recent tour for the League of Nations, President Wilson threw

off the mask and spoke in plain imperialistic terms, emphasizing the absolute necessity of crushing Soviet Russia. Congress drifts, and is impotent. The government, federal and local, is adopting the most repressive measures against the proletariat. Armed force, martial law, and military invasion are used against strikes. State after state has adopted "Criminal Syndicalism" measures, making almost any advocacy of militant proletarian tactics a crime. On the least pretext agitators are arrested. Deportations occur almost daily; one of our international delegates, A. Stoklitsky, is now under trial for deportation.

American Imperialism is usurping world power, constituting the very heart of international reaction. Reaction in Europe and the campaign against Soviet Russia are supported morally and financially by "our" government. An enormous agitation is being waged for military intervention in Mexico. The American capitalist class is brutal, unscrupulous, powerful; it controls enormous reserves of financial, industrial, and military power; it is determined to use this power to conquer world supremacy and to crush the revolutionary proletariat.

The Communist Party realizes the immensity of its task; it realizes that the final struggle of the Communist proletariat will be waged in the United States, our conquest of power alone assuring the world Soviet Republic. Realizing all this, the Communist Party prepares for the struggle.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the world revolution!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

That is the slogan of "The COMMUNIST," official organ of the Communist Party of America.

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HUNGARIAN: Daily, "Elore," 5 E. 3rd St., New York, N. Y.

JEWISH: Weekly, "Der Kampf," 179 E. Broadway, New York.

LETTISH: Weekly, "Strahdnecks," 49 Dudley St., Roxbury, Mass.

POLISH: Daily, "Glos Robotniczy," 1689 Michigan Ave., Detroit, Mich.

LITHUANIAN: Weekly, "Musu Tiesa," 601 Metropolitan Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Weekly, "Zarija," 1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

RUSSIAN: Daily, "Novy Mir," 113 E. 10th St., New York, N. Y.

UKRAINIAN: Semi-weekly, "Robitnik," 222 E. 5th St., New York, N. Y.

SOUTH SLAVIC: Weekly, "Znanje," 274 W. 22nd St., Chicago, Ill. Monthly, "Glas Komunista," 1219 Blue Island Ave, Chicago, Ill.

EXHIBIT 2.

MANIFESTO AND GOVERNING RULES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Adopted by the Congress of the Communist International at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919, and signed by Comrades C. Rakovsky, N. Lenin, M. Zinovjev, L. Trotsky, and Fritz Platten.]

[Published by the Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung Publishing Company, 1642 N. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill. Price 10 cents.]

INTRODUCTION.

This document contains the first authentic, direct message from the conquering proletariat of Great Russia to the toiling masses of the world. It breathes an appeal, a demand that will be heard wherever the masses are ground under the heel of imperialistic capitalism and is a glittering milestone on the road to working class power throughout the world. This manifesto is the first official document of the Communist International that was founded at Moscow, Russia. Since the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels it is the most vital and important proclamation issued by any working-class tribunal. It will soon become the basis of international working-class action, and will become the lightning that will rend the clouds and fogs that now envelop the workers of the world.

Comment on this Manifesto would be useless, superfluous. Its magnificent language speaks the message a suffering world is eagerly waiting to hear. It speaks the plain, clear language of the revolutionary, communistic proletariat.

Its remorseless and scientific criticism of the political and economic fallacies that pass for Socialist activities in some circles is one of the most valuable contributions to radical literature of the present day. Reformistic opportunism is pilloried as it deserves to be. It will assist the Socialist movement everywhere into the path of uncompromising, revolutionary action that alone can usher in the triumph of International Socialism.

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL LANDS!

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its program in form of the Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when Communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred, and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades Communism has traveled a hard road: storms of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the program proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary expense of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to gather together the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the communist revolution.

I

For a long span of years Socialism predicted the inevitableness of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the Congress of Basle, the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries branded Imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat of the Socialist revolution—the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked the no less criminal deeds on the part of the Allies, the State Socialists of the Entente nations, together with their governments, again and again unmask the deposed German Kaiser. And the German social patriots, who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic White Book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, to-day, in vulgar sycophancy, join themselves with the Socialists of the Entente lands to accuse as archcriminal the deposed German monarchy which they formerly served as slaves. In this way they hope to erase the memory of their own guilt and gain the good will of the victors. But alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs, and the capitalistic cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy and the United States

stand revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable vileness.

The contradictions of the capitalist system were converted by the war into beastly torments of hunger and cold, epidemics and moral savagery for all mankind. Hereby also the academic quarrel in Socialism over the theory of increasing misery, and also of the undermining of Capitalism through Socialism, is now finally determined. Statisticians and teachers of the theory of reconciliation of these contradictions have endeavored for decades to gather together from all corners of the earth real and apparent facts which evidence the increasing well-being of the working class. To-day abysmal misery is before our eyes, social as well as physiological, in all its shocking reality.

Finance-capital, which threw mankind into the abyss of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of the war. The dependence of paper money upon the material basis of production was completely destroyed. More and more losing its significance as medium and regulator of capitalistic commodity circulation, paper money becomes merely a means of exploitation, robbery, of military-economic oppression. The complete deterioration of paper money now reflects the general deadly crisis of capitalist commodity exchange.

As free competition was replaced as regulator of production and distribution in the chief domains of economy during the decades which preceded the war, by the system of trusts and monopolies, so the exigencies of the war took the regulating rôle out of the hands of the monopolies and gave it directly to the military power. Distribution of raw materials, utilization of petroleum from Baku or Roumania, of coal from Donetz, of cereals from the Ukraine; the fate of German locomotives, railroad cars, and automobiles, the provisioning of famine-stricken Europe with bread and meat—all these basic questions of the economic life of the world are no longer regulated by free competition, nor yet by combinations of national and international trusts, but through direct application of military force.

Just as complete subordination of the power of the State to the purposes of finance-capital led mankind to the imperialistic shambles, so finance-capital has, through this mass slaughter, completely militarized not alone the State but also itself. It is no longer able to fulfill its essential economic functions otherwise than by means of blood and iron.

The opportunists who before the war exhorted the workers, in the name of the gradual transition into Socialism, to be temperate; who, during the war, asked for submission in the name of **BURGFRIEDEN** and defense of the Fatherland, now again demand of the workers

self-abnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers Capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to a new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible.

The absorption by the State of the economic life, so vigorously opposed by capitalist Liberalism, has now become a fact. There can be no return either to free competition nor to the rule of the trusts, syndicates, and other economic monsters. The only question is who shall be the future mainstay of state production, the Imperialistic State, or the State of the victorious proletariat. In other words, shall the entire working humanity become the feudal bond servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under name of a League of Nations aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy here plunders and murders, there throws a crumb, but everywhere enchains the proletariat with the single aim of maintaining its own rule? Or will the working class take into its own hands the disorganized and shattered economic life and make certain its reconstruction on a Socialist basis?

Only the Proletarian Dictatorship, which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property but which arises from the needs of the starving masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose it mobilizes all materials and forces, introduces the universal duty of labor, establishes the régime of industrial discipline, this way to heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and also to raise humanity to a new undreamed of height.

The national State, which was given a tremendous impulse by capitalist evolution has become too narrow for the development of the productive forces. And even more untenable has become the position of the small States, distributed among the great powers of Europe and in other parts of the world. These small States came into existence at different times as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, to serve as strategic buffer States. They, too, have their dynasties, their ruling gangs, their imperialistic pretensions, their diplomatic machinations. Their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power: namely, the continuous opposition between the two imperialistic camps. The war has destroyed this balance. The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled these smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wings of German militarism. After Germany was beaten the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "Socialists," turned to the victorious Imperialism of the Allies and began to seek assurance for

their further independent existence in the hypocritical points of the Wilson program. At the same time the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, out of the different parts of the Czarist Empire, new sovereignties have formed themselves. And these, as soon as born, jump at each other's throats on account of their frontier disputes. Meanwhile the Allied Imperialists brought about certain combinations of new and old small States through the cement of mutual hatreds and general weakness. Even while violating the small and weak peoples and delivering them to famine and degradation, the Entente Imperialists, exactly as the Imperialists of the Central Powers before them, did not cease to talk of the right of self-determination of all peoples, a right which is now entirely destroyed in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Only the proletarian revolution can secure the existence of the small nations, a revolution which frees the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of the national States, which unites all peoples in the closest economic cooperation on the basis of a universal economic plan, and gives even to the smallest and weakest peoples the possibility freely and independently to carry on their national culture without detriment to the united and centralized economy of Europe and of the whole world.

The last war, after all a war against the colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. To an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Arabs, Madagascans battled on the European continent—what for?—for their right to remain slaves of England or France. Never did capitalist rule show itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence we witness a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries, the troops of the bourgeois Republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.

In this manner the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day not alone on the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris, but also in the colonies themselves. The Wilson program, at the very best, calls only for a change in the firm name of colonial enslavement. Liberation of the colonies can only happen together with liberation of the working class of the capital cities.

The workers and peasants not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the laborers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands. Even now in the more advanced colonies the battle goes on not only under the flag of national liberation, but it assumes also an open and outspoken social character. Capitalistic Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalistic whirlpool, and Socialistic Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organization, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of socialistic economy.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of triumph of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Europe will also be the hour of your liberation!

II.

The entire bourgeois world accuses the Communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. That is not true. Having come into power the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy and creates the conditions and forms of a higher working-class democracy. The whole course of capitalistic development undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcilable classes, but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and half-proletarian elements, as well as the slum proletariat, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the régime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But the great middle layers on the farm lands, as well as in the cities, are hindered by Capitalism in their historic development and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church spire, the small French wine grower who has been ruined by the adulterations practiced by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks which have been shoved aside from the main road of development by Capitalism, are called on paper by the régime of political democracy to the administration of the State. In reality, however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of parliamentary democracy. Particularly was this true of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace.

If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary vote, then the bourgeois State has at its command in order to gain its ends all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule multiplied by the wonders of capitalistic technique—lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat in the final life and death struggle with Capitalism that it should follow lamblike the demands of bourgeois democracy would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

In an empire of destruction, where not only the means of production and transportation but also the institutions of political democracy represent bloody ruins, the proletariat must create its own forms, to serve above all as a bond of unity for the working class and to enable it to accomplish a revolutionary intervention in the further development of mankind. Such apparatus is represented in the workmen's councils. The old parties, the old unions, have proved incapable, in person of their leaders, to understand, much less to carry out the tasks which the new epoch presents to them. The proletariat created a new institution which embraces the entire working class, without distinction of vocation or political maturity, an elastic form of organization capable of continually renewing itself, expanding, and of drawing into itself ever new elements, ready to open its doors to the working groups of city and village which are near to the proletariat. This indispensable autonomous organization of the working class in the present struggle and in the future conquests of different lands, tests the proletariat and represents the greatest inspiration and the mightiest weapon of the proletariat of our time.

Whenever the masses are awakened to consciousness, Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Councils will be formed. To fortify these Councils, to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these Councils the working class can counteract that disorganization which has been brought into it by the infernal anguish of the war, by hunger, by the violent deeds of the possessing classes, and by the betrayal of their former leaders. By means of these Councils the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly when these Councils gain the support of the majority of the laboring population. By means of these Councils the working class, once attending power, will control all the fields of economic and cultural life, as in the case of Russia at the present time.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, czaristic to most democratic, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military

system. The armies of millions, mobilized by imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained obedient under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The complete breakdown of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus is happened, first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic States. Insurrection of the peasants against the landowner, of laborer against capitalist, of both against the monarchic or "democratic" bureaucracy, must lead inevitably to the insurrection of soldier against commander and, furthermore, to a sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted nation against nation has passed and is passing into the civil war which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against the civil war and the red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of political struggles can boast. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who have carried mankind to the very brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to maintain or restore their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced upon the laboring classes by their arch enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow if it will not renounce its own object and its own future which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

The communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in case it has become an iron necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborers, and the formation of a communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

Conscious of the world-historic character of their mission, the enlightened workers strove from the very beginning of the organized socialistic movement for an international union. The foundation-stone of this union was laid in the year 1864 in London, in the first International. The Franco-Prussian War, from which arose the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the First International, giving rise at the same time to the national labor parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the Congress of Paris and organized the Second International. But during this period the center of gravity of the labor movement rested entirely on national ground,

confining itself within the realm of national parliamentarism to the narrow compass of national states and national industries. Decades of organizing and labor reformism created a generation of leaders most of whom gave verbal recognition to the program of social revolution but denied it in substance. They were lost in the swamp of reformism and adaptation to the bourgeois state. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the Second International was finally revealed—and led to the greatest collapse of the movement in all its history—when events required revolutionary methods of warfare from the labor parties. Just as the war of 1870 dealt a deathblow to the First International by revealing that there was not in fact behind the social-revolutionary program any compact power of the masses, so the war of 1914 killed the Second International by showing that the above consolidated labor masses there stood labor parties which converted themselves into servile organs of the bourgeois state.

This includes not only the social patriots who to-day are openly in the camp of the bourgeoisie as preferred confidential advisers and reliable hangmen of the working class, but also the hazy, fickle, and irresolute socialist Centre which is to-day trying to revive the Second International, i. e., the narrowness, opportunism and revolutionary impotence of their predecessors. The Independents of Germany, the present Majority of the Socialist party in France, the Independent Labor Party in England, and similar groups, are actually trying to re-establish themselves in the position which the old official parties of the Second International held before the war. They appear as before with proposals of compromise and conciliation and hereby paralyze the energy of the proletariat, lengthening the period of crisis and consequently increasing the misery of Europe. War against the Socialist Centre is a necessary condition of successful war against Imperialism.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy and corruption of the decadent official socialist parties, we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Baboef to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg. As the First International foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the Second International gathered together and organized millions of the proletariats, so the Third International is the International of open mass-action of the revolutionary realization, the International of deeds. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all lands! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—UNITE!

Under the standard of the Workingmen's Councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, proletarians of all countries UNITE!

(Translation by Ida Ferguson.)

GOVERNING RULES OF THE COMMUNISTIC INTERNATIONAL.

The new era has begun! The era of the downfall of Capitalism—its internal disintegration. The epoch of the proletarian communist revolution. In some countries, victorious proletarian revolution; increasing revolutionary ferment in other lands; uprisings in the colonies; utter incapacity of the ruling classes to control the fate of peoples any longer; that is the picture of present world conditions.

Humanity, with its entire culture now lying in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalistic “order” can exist no longer. This ultimate result of the capitalistic mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out State boundaries, transform the whole world into one cooperative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

World Capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the “League of Nations” and a deluge of pacifist phrase-mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to direct its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous new conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution. The final victory of the proletariat of the world means the beginning of the real history of free mankind.

THE CAPTURE OF POLITICAL POWER.

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers, and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political

power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government; disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of Workingmen; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State apparatus. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can the former enemies of the new order be made useful, by bringing them under control of the communistic structure and gradually bringing them into accord with this work.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break the opposition of the despoilers of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there is no more class distinction.

Democracy, so called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more or less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted "popular will" exists as little as the undivided people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small minority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organizations and through its Councils, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a classless communistic commonwealth.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declarations of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the

other hand, the Council type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Council power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply, etc., for their press, their societies and assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian democracy made possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the Council system the mass organizations rule and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Councils drew constantly increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The Council system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the cooperatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary mandates beyond popular recall. The Council system, by contrast, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislative and executive powers, and by use of working roads. Above all this union is fostered by the fact that in the Council system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Council system brings about true proletarian democracy, democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is favored in this system because it is the most aggressive, best organized and politically ripest class, under whose leadership the half-proletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowners and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the communistic structure.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND SOCIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION.

The breakdown of the capitalistic order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on the capitalistic basis. Wage wars of the workmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie

(which only prolongs the death struggle of the old régime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of capitalism, so as to postpone socialization, only delay the process of disintegration and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best, the only means, by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with its society itself.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all of production to a symmetrical plan. As the first steps toward socialization of the entire economic system may be mentioned: The socializing of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the State power of the proletariat of all Government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into cooperative establishments.

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organization through the force of example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must reestablish commerce by an accurate distribution of products; to which end the following

methods are to be considered: the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all bourgeois-State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great cooperative societies, which organizations will still have an important rôle in the production-epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of adapting themselves not to the service of capital but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their cooperation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed and thus will Science and Labor be unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

During this great transition period the power of the Councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure, but, on the other hand, constantly draws ever-increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

THE WAY TO VICTORY.

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of Capitalism and enemies of the communist revolution, in which role the Social Democrats of the Right appear, but also from the Party of the Centre (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat, heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Council rule, for example, the corresponding elements among the Syndicalists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the dangers of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalistic States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite

with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Berne), and to give their services to the Wilsonian League; finally, the absolute necessity for coordination of proletarian actions—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International. This International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the mutual help of the proletariat of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual helpfulness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social-patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the plundered colonial peoples in their fight against Imperialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of the imperialistic world system.

The capitalistic criminals asserted at the beginning of the world war that it was only in defense of the common Fatherland. But soon German Imperialism revealed its real brigand character by its bloody deeds in Russia, in the Ukraine and in Finland. Now the Entente states unmask themselves as world despoilers and murderers of the proletariat. Together with the German bourgeoisie and social-patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to throttle the revolution of the European proletariat by means of their war machinery and stupid barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the White Terror of the bourgeois cannibals. Incalculable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—they have lost. Against this the proletariat must defend itself, defend at any price. The Communist International calls the entire world proletariat to this final struggle.

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIAL CONSPIRACY OF CAPITAL!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLIC OF THE PROLETARIAN COUNCILS!

Moscow, March 2-6, 1919.

EXHIBIT 3.

[Pamphlet No. 1. Price 10c.]

MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM—CONSTITUTION—REPORT TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

[Communist Party of America. All Power to the Communist. The Communist International.]

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

Constitutional Provisions.

SEC. 1. Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party and the Communist International and agrees to engage actively in the work of the party shall be eligible to member-

ship. It is the aim of this organization to have in its ranks only those who participate actively in its work.

SEC. 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution, and pledges himself to engage actively in its work.

SEC. 3. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the party. There shall be no members at large.

SEC. 4. All application cards must be endorsed by two persons who have been members for not less than three months.

SEC. 5. Applications for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice and no vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to the charter members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

SEC. 6. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

SEC. 7. No person who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest, or profit shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party.

SEC. 8. No person shall be accepted as a member who enters into the service of the national, State, or local governmental bodies otherwise than through the Civil Service, or by legal compulsion.

Provided that the civil employment by the Government is of a non-political character.

For information regarding the local organization in your city write to Communist Party of America, 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY MANIFESTO.

The world is on the verge of a new era. Europe is in revolt. The masses of Asia are stirring uneasily. Capitalism is in collapse. The workers of the world are seeing a new life and securing new courage. Out of the night of war is coming a new day.

The specter of Communism haunts the world of capitalism. Communism, the hope of the workers to end misery and oppression.

The workers of Russia smashed the front of international Capitalism and Imperialism. They broke the chains of the terrible war; and in the midst of agony, starvation and the attacks of the capitalists of the world, they are creating a new social order.

The class war rages fiercely in all nations. Everywhere the workers are in a desperate struggle against their capitalist masters. The call to action has come. The workers must answer the call!

The Communist Party of America is the party of the working class. The Communist Party proposes to end Capitalism and organize a workers' industrial republic. The workers must control industry and dispose of the products of industry. The Communist Party is a party realizing the limitations of all existing workers' organizations and proposes to develop the revolutionary movement necessary to free the workers from the oppression of Capitalism. The Communist Party insists that the problems of the American worker are identical with the problems of the workers of the world.

THE WAR AND SOCIALISM.

A giant struggle is convulsing the world. The war is at end, but peace is not here. The struggle is between the capitalist nations of the world and the international proletariat, inspired by Soviet Russia. The Imperialisms of the world are desperately arraying themselves against the onswEEPing proletarian revolution.

The League of Nations is dividing the world financially and territorially. It is directing the fight against the workers. It is the last effort of Capitalism to save itself.

The reactionary League of Nations is the logical result of this imperialistic war. And the war was the product of Capitalism.

Capitalism oppresses the workers. It deprives them of the fruit of their labor—the difference between wages and product constituting the profits of the capitalists. As the capitalists compete with each other, while exploiting the workers, new and more efficient means of production develop. This compels the concentration of industry, which results in monopoly. Under monopoly there is rapid accumulation of capital, producing a surplus which it is necessary to export for investment. This export of capital, together with the struggle to monopolize the world's sources of raw materials and to control undeveloped territory for purposes of investment, is the basis of Imperialism.

Imperialism produced the war. The war now being at an end, the victorious nations are concerned almost exclusively with these economic, territorial and financial problems. The United States was vitally concerned in the war, the issue being world power; and its capitalism, having secured a position of financial supremacy, had a direct imperialistic interest at stake.

The war made a shambles of civilization. It proved the utter incapacity of capitalism to direct and promote the progress of humanity. Capitalism has broken down.

But the Socialist movement itself broke down under the test of war. The old dominant moderate Socialism accepted and justified the war. It acted against the proletarian revolution and united with the capitalists against the workers. Out of this circumstance developed the forces of revolutionary Socialism now expressed in the Communist International.

Socialism had repeatedly emphasized the menace of war. It had urged the workers to act against the war. The Socialist congress at Basle in 1912, when Europe was on the verge of a general war, condemned the war as imperialistic and as unjustifiable on any pretext of national interest. It urged using the crisis of war to "rouse the masses and to hasten the downfall of Capitalism."

The war that came in 1914 was the same imperialistic war that might have come in 1912. But upon the declaration of war the dominant opportunistic Socialist parties accepted and justified the war of plunder and mass murder!

This was a direct betrayal of Socialism. It was an abandonment of the class struggle. The class struggle is the very heart of revolutionary Socialism. Unless the Socialist movement wages the class struggle under any and all conditions in its revolutionary implications it becomes either Utopian or reactionary. But moderate Socialism accepted the war and the "unity of the classes," and united with the capitalist governments against the working class.

The Socialist parties accepted the war as a war for democracy—as if democracy under Imperialism is not directly counter-revolutionary. They justified the war as a war for the independence of nations. Not the proletarian class struggle, but nationalism, social-patriotism, and social-imperialism determined the policy of the dominant Socialism. The coming of Socialism was made dependent upon the workers cutting each others' throats in the struggles of their own ruling class!

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

The collapse of the Socialist International during the war marks the transition from the older moderate Socialism to the new Socialism of revolutionary practice and promise in the Communist International.

Moderate Socialism, which perverted the revolutionary Socialism of the First International, placed its faith in "constructive" social reforms. It accepted the bourgeois state as the basis of its activities and then strengthened that state. It developed a policy of "class reconciliation," affirming that the coming of Socialism was a concern of "all the classes" instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that it was the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. There was a joint movement that affected the thought and practice of Socialism—on the one hand, the organization of the skilled workers into trade unions, which secured certain concessions and became a semiprivileged caste; and, on the other hand, the decay of the class of small producers, crushed under the iron tread of industrial concentration. As one moved upward and the other downward, they met and formed a political juncture to use the state to improve their conditions. The

dominant Socialism expressed this compromise. It developed a policy of legislative reforms and State Capitalism.

The whole process was simple. The workers were to unite with the middle class and government ownership of industry was to emancipate the working class. Parliamentarism was to revolutionize the old order of slavery and power, of oppression, and destruction.

It was simple, but disastrous. The state, as owner of industry, did not free the workers, but imposed a sterner bondage. The capitalist state was made stronger by its industrial functions. The parliamentary representatives of the workers played at the parliamentary comedy, while Capitalism developed new powers of oppression and destruction.

But Imperialism exposed the final futility of this policy. Imperialism united the nonproletarian classes, by means of State Capitalism, for international conquest and spoliation. The small capitalists, middle class and the aristocracy of labor, which previously acted against concentrated industry, now compromise and unite with concentrated industry and finance-capital in Imperialism. The small capitalists accept the domination of finance-capital, being allowed to participate in the adventures and the fabulous profits of Imperialism, upon which now depends the whole of trade and industry. The middle class invests in monopolistic enterprises; its income now depends upon finance-capital, its members securing "positions of superintendence," its technicians and intellectuals being exported to lands in process of development. The workers of the privileged unions are assured steady employment and comparatively high wages through the profits that come in from the savage exploitation of colonial peoples. All these nonproletarian social groups accept Imperialism, their "liberal and progressive" ideas becoming camouflage for Imperialism with which to seduce the masses. Imperialism requires the centralized state, capable of uniting all the forces of capital, of unifying the industrial process through state regulation, of maintaining "class peace," of mobilizing the whole national power for the struggles of Imperialism. State Capitalism is the expression of Imperialism, precisely that State Capitalism promoted by Moderate Socialism. What the parliamentary policy of Socialism accomplished was to buttress the capitalistic state, to promote State Capitalism to strengthen Imperialism.

Moderate Socialism developed while Capitalism was still competitive. Upon the advent of monopoly and Imperialism, Socialism emerged into a new epoch—an epoch requiring new and more aggressive proletarian tactics. Capitalism acquired a terrific power in industry and the state. The concentration of industry, together with the subserviency of parliaments to the imperialistic mandates and the transfer of their vital functions to the executive organ of

government, made more clear the impossibility of the parliamentary conquest of power. The older unionism and parliamentary Socialism proved their utter incompetence for the new conditions of struggle. These conditions developed the concept of industrial unionism in the United States and the concept of mass action in Europe. Imperialism made it necessary to reconstruct the Socialist movement.

But Moderate Socialism itself did not change under the necessity of events. The consequence was a miserable collapse under the test of the war and the proletarian revolution in Russia and Germany.

In the Russian Revolution the proletariat, urging on the poorer peasantry, conquered the power of the state after the first revolution had established the democratic parliamentary republic. It established a dictatorship of the proletariat. This proletarian revolution was accomplished in spite of the opposition of Moderate Socialism, represented by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists. These Moderates urged that since Russia was economically an undeveloped country, it was premature to make a proletarian revolution in Russia and historically impossible to realize Socialism.

Modern Socialism in Germany also acted against the proletarian revolution. It offered a capitalist parliamentary republic as against proletarian dictatorship.

The issue in Germany could not be obscured. Germany was a fully developed nation industrially; its economic conditions were mature for the introduction of Socialism. But Moderate Socialists rejected the revolutionary task.

There is a common policy that characterizes Moderate Socialism; that is, its conception of the state. Out of the conception that the bourgeois parliamentary state is the basis for the introduction of Socialism developed a directly counter-revolutionary policy.

Communism rejects this conception of the state. It rejects the idea of class reconciliation and the parliamentary conquest of Capitalism. The Communist Party alone is capable of mobilizing the proletariat for the revolutionary mass struggle to conquer the power of the state. The Communist Party realizes that it is necessary to develop separate organs of working class political power by means of which to crush the resistance of Capitalism and establish the Communist Commonwealth.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

Socialism in the United States, prior to the appearance of the Socialist Labor Party, was a movement of isolated and indefinite protest. It was the sport of middle-class movements, while itself split by Socialist and Anarchist factions.

The Socialist Labor Party, after casting off the non-Socialist elements, developed as a consistent party of revolutionary Socialism.

Particularly, the S. L. P. realized the importance of imparting a Socialist character and consciousness to the unions. The Socialist Labor Party, together with the experience of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, developed the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism.

The struggle of the Socialist Labor Party against the old unionism developed a secession from the party of elements who considered protecting the reactionary American Federation of Labor more important than revolutionary Socialism. These, together with bourgeois and agrarian radicals, organized the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party was a party of Moderate Socialism. Its policy was that of government ownership of industry, not the proletarian conquest of power. It maintained that the middle class and the lesser capitalists are necessary in the Socialist struggle against Capitalism. The Socialist Party asserted in substance: Socialism is a struggle of all the people against the trusts, making the realization of Socialism depend upon the "unity of the common people," the workers, the small capitalists and investors, the professions. In short the official policy of the Socialist Party was to attain Socialism by means of capitalist democracy.

The Socialist Party stultified proletarian political action by limiting it to elections and participation in legislative reform activity. The party favored reactionary trades-unionism as against revolutionary industrial unionism.

The Socialist Labor Party developed a purely theoretical activity, of real value, but was isolated from the masses. The Socialist Party attained a considerable membership, but largely of a petty bourgeoisie character. The war brought in new industrial proletarian elements but the party still isolated itself from revolutionary theory and practice. The proletarian masses in the Socialist Party required simply the opportunity to develop a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The Socialist Party under the impulse of its proletarian membership adopted a militant declaration against the war. But the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration. The official policy of the party on the war was that of liberal pacifism. The party bureaucracy united with the People's Council which propagandized a Wilson peace. The 1918 party platform accepted the Wilson "fourteen points" as adopted by the pro-war Interallied Labor and Socialist Conference.

The war and the proletarian revolution in Russia sharpened the antagonism between the party policy and the revolutionary proletarian temper in the party. Revolt broke loose. The Socialist Party was crushed. The Communist Party is the response to this revolt and to the call of the Communist International.

COMMUNIST PARTY PROBLEMS.

The United States is now a world power. It is developing a centralized, autocratic federal government, acquiring financial and military reserves for aggression and wars of conquest. Imperialism now consciously dominates the national policy.

The war strengthened American Capitalism, instead of weakening it as in Europe. But the collapse of Capitalism in other countries will play upon and affect events in this country. Feverishly, American capitalism is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism. It is utterly incompetent on the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. Its "reconstruction" program aims simply to develop power for aggression and plunder in the markets of the world. While this is not the moment of actual revolution, it is a moment of struggles pregnant with revolution.

Strikes are developing, verging on revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent. The striker-workers try to usurp functions of industry and government, as in the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes.

A minor phase of proletarian unrest is the trade unions organizing a Labor Party in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a privileged caste. A Labor Party is not the instrument of aggressive working class struggle; it can not break the power of the capitalists and the profit system of oppression and misery, since it accepts private property and the "rights of capital." The practice of a Labor Party is in general the practice of the Socialist Party—cooperation with bourgeois "progressives" and reforming Capitalism on the basis of the capitalist parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the proletarian as moderate petty bourgeois Socialism—the two being expressions of an identical social tendency and policy. There can be no compromise either with Laborism or reactionary Socialism.

But there is a more vital tendency, the tendency of the workers to start mass strikes—strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy of the unions and the capitalists. The Communist Party will endeavor to broaden and deepen these strikes making them general and militant, developing the general political strike.

The Communist Party accepts as the basis of its action the mass struggles of the proletariat, engaging directly in these struggles and emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

POLITICAL ACTION.

The proletarian class struggle is essentially a political struggle. It is a political struggle in the sense that its objective is political—overthrow of the political organizations upon which capitalist exploitation depends, and the introduction of a proletarian state

power. The objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state.

Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeoisie parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeoisie state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. The use of parliamentarism, however, is only of secondary importance.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist class has at its command in order to gain its end, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of working class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique—lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery. To the demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy but not observed by the enemy is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power, a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working class power.

The parliamentarism of the Communist Party performs a service in mobilizing the proletariat against Capitalism, emphasizing the political character of the class struggle.

The conquest of the power of the state is accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat. Political mass strikes are a vital factor in developing this mass power, preparing the working class for the conquest of Capitalism. The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of the industrial process. The mobilizing of this control against Capitalism means the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the state.

UNIONISM AND MASS ACTION.

The older unionism was based on the craft divisions of small industry. The unions consisted primarily of skilled workers, whose skill is itself a form of property. The unions were not organs of the militant class struggle. To-day the dominant unionism is actually a bulwark of Capitalism, merging in Imperialism and accepting State Capitalism.

The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process expropriated large numbers of the skilled workers of their skill; but the unions still maintained the ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power by the ineffectiveness of its localized strikes as against large scale industry, trades, unionism

resorts to dickers with the bourgeois state and accepts imperialistic State Capitalism to maintain its privileges as against the unskilled industrial proletariat.

The concentration of industry produces the industrial proletariat—the machine workers. This proletariat, massed in the basic industry, constitutes the militant basis of the class struggle. Deprived of skill and craft divisions, the old petty isolated strike is useless to these workers.

These facts of industrial concentration developed the concept of industrial unionism among the organized workers, and mass action among the unorganized.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms it imposes upon the proletarian class struggle. Mass action develops as the spontaneous activity of unorganized workers in the basic industry; its initial form is the mass strike of the unskilled. In these strikes large masses of workers are unified by the impulse of the struggle, developing a new tactic and a new ideology.

Mass action is industrial in its origin, but it acquires political character as it develops fuller forms. Mass action, in the form of general political strikes and demonstrations, unites the energy and forces of the proletariat, brings proletarian mass pressure upon the bourgeois state. The more general and conscious mass action becomes, the more it antagonizes the bourgeois state, the more it becomes political mass action. Mass action is responsive to life itself, the form of aggressive proletarian struggle under Imperialism. Out of this struggle develops revolutionary mass action, the means for the proletarian conquest of power.

The conception of mass action has little in common with Syndicalism. In its mass impulse, Syndicalism was a protest against the futility of parliamentarism. But anarcho-Syndicalism tactically and theoretically is a departure from Marxism. It does not appreciate the necessity of a proletarian state during the transition period from Capitalism to Communism (which implies the disappearance of all forms of the state). Syndicalism makes the proletarian revolution a direct seizure of industry, instead of the conquest of the power of the state.

Industrial Unionism, also, can not conquer the power of the state. Under the conditions of Capitalism it is impossible to organize the whole working class into industrial unions. It will be necessary to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, by means of revolutionary mass action. Moreover, industrial unionism does not actually construct the forms of the Communist administration of industry, only potentially. After the conquest of power the industrial unions may become the starting point of the Communist reconstruc-

tion of society. But the conception that the majority of the working class can be organized into conscious industrial unions and construct under Capitalism the form of the Communist society is as Utopian as the moderate Socialist conception of the gradual "growing into Socialism."

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in Capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crisis the proletariat acts for the conquest of power by means of mass action. Mass action concentrates and mobilizes the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. Strikes of protest develop into general political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the state. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extraparlimentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The state is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois supremacy, the form of authority of the capitalist over the worker. Bourgeois democracy promotes the dictatorship of capital, assisted by the press, the pulpit, the army, and the police. Bourgeois democracy is historically necessary, on the one hand, to break the power of feudalism, and, on the other, to maintain the proletariat in subjection. It is precisely this democracy that is now the instrument of Imperialism, since the middle class, the traditional carrier of democracy, accepts Imperialism. The proletarian revolution disrupts bourgeois democracy. It disrupts this democracy in order to end class divisions and class rule, to realize industrial self-government of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the proletariat organize its own state for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of that fact; it is equally a recognition of the fact that in the Communist reconstruction of society the proletariat alone counts as a class.

While the dictatorship of the proletariat performs the negative task of crushing the old order, it performs the positive task of constructing the new. Together with the government of the proletarian dictatorship there is developed a new "government," which is no longer government in the old sense, since it concerns itself with the management of the production and not with the government of persons. Out of workers' control of industry, introduced by the proletarian dictatorship, there develops the complete structure of Communist Socialism—industrial self-government of the communistically organized producers. When this structure is completed, which implies the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie,

economically and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ends, in its place coming the full, free, social, and individual autonomy of the Communist order.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat; just as the League of Nations is the organ of the joint aggression and resistance of the dominant Imperialism.

The Communist International represents a Socialism in complete accord with the revolutionary character of the class struggle. It unites all the conscious revolutionary forces. It wages war equally against Imperialism and moderate Socialism—each of which has demonstrated its complete inability to solve the problems that now press down upon the workers. The Communist International issues its call to the conscious proletariat for the final struggle against Capitalism.

It is not a problem of immediate revolution. The revolutionary epoch may last for years and tens of years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope.

The old order is in decay. Civilization is in collapse. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society.

The Communist International calls!

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE PROGRAM OF THE PARTY.

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism, and the destruction of the bourgeois state.

The Communist Party prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes.

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of action. It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. The Communist Party directs the workers' struggle against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating in the mass action of the revolution.

The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state.

(a) The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism, and the

establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed in the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the state dies and there are no more class distinctions.

(b) Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda only.

(c) Parliamentary representatives of the Communist Party shall not introduce or support reform measures. Parliaments and political democracy shall be utilized to assist in organizing the working class against capitalism and the state. Parliamentary representatives shall consistently expose the oppressive class character of the capitalist state, using the legislative forum to interpret and emphasize the class struggle; they shall make clear how parliamentarism and parliamentary democracy deceive the workers; and they shall analyze capitalist legislative proposals and reform palliatives as evasions of the issue and as of no fundamental significance to the working class.

(d) Nominations for public office and participation in elections are limited to legislative bodies only, such as municipal councils, state legislatures, and the national congress.

(e) The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party accordingly, in campaigns and elections, and in all its other activity, shall not cooperate with groups or parties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as the Socialist Party, Labor Party, Non-Partisan League, People's Council, Municipal Ownership Leagues, etc.

The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggles of the working class its major campaigns, in order to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

(a) The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.

(b) Mass strikes are vital factors in the process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

(c) In mass strikes under conditions of concentrated capitalism there is latent the tendency toward the general mass strike, which takes on a political character and manifests the impulse toward proletarian dictatorship.

In these general mass strikes the Communist Party shall emphasize the necessity of maintaining industry and the taking over of social functions usually discharged by the capitalists and the institutions of capitalism. The strike must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general and aggressive, preparing the workers for the complete assumption of industrial and social control.

(a) Every local and district organization of the Party shall establish contact with industrial units in its territory, the shops, mills and mines—and direct its agitation accordingly.

(b) Shop committees shall be organized wherever possible for the purpose of Communist agitation in a particular shop or industry by the workers employed there. These committees shall be united with each other and with the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers and mobilize them for action against capitalism.

III.

The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions. As against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial Unionism is not simply a means for the everyday struggle against capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial Unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth.

(a) The Communist Party recognizes that the A. F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.

(b) Councils of workers shall be organized in the shops as circumstances allow, for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements; these councils to be unified in a Central Council wherever possible.

(c) It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization, embracing the I. W. W., W. I. I. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A. F. of L., and the unorganized workers, on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

IV.

The Communist Party shall encourage movements of the workers in the shops seeking to realize workers' control of industry, while indicating their limitations under capitalism; concretely, any movements analogous to the Shop Stewards of England. These movements (equally directed against the union bureaucracy) should be related to the Communist Party.

V.

The unorganized unskilled workers (including the agricultural proletariat) constitute the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall directly and systematically agitate among these workers, awakening them to industrial organization and action.

VI.

In close connection with the unskilled workers is the problem of the Negro worker. The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character. The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all class conscious workers.

VII.

The United States is developing an aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the downfall of Capitalism.

VIII.

The struggle against Imperialism, necessarily an international struggle, is the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this epoch.

(a) There must be close unity with the Communist International for common action against the Imperialism.

(b) The Communist Party emphasizes the common character of the struggle of the workers of all nations, making necessary the solidarity of the workers of the world.

THE PARTY CONSTITUTION.

I. Name and Purpose.

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be THE COMMUNIST PARTY of America. Its purpose shall be the education and organization of the working class for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Communist Society.

II. Emblem.

Sec. 1. The emblem of the party shall be a button with the figure of the earth in the center in white with gold lines and a red flag across the face bearing the inscription, "All Power to the Workers"; around the figure of the earth a red margin shall appear with the words "The Communist Party of America" and "The Communist International" on this margin in white letters.

III. Membership.

Sec. 1. Every person who accepts the principal and tactics of the Communist Party and the Communist International and agrees to engage actively in the work of the party shall be eligible to member-

ship. It is the aim of this organization to have in its ranks only those who participate actively in its work.

Sec. 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card, reading as follows:

The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution, and pledges himself to engage actively in its work.

Sec. 3. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the party. There shall be no members at large.

Sec. 4. All application cards must be endorsed by two persons who have been members for not less than three months.

Sec. 5. Applications for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice and no vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to the charter members of new branches nor to the members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

Sec. 6. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

Sec. 7. No person who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest or profit shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party.

Sec. 8. No person shall be accepted as a member who enters into the service of the national, state, or local governmental bodies otherwise than through the Civil Service or by legal compulsion.

Provided, that the civil employment by the government is of a non-political character.

Sec. 9. No members of The Communist Party shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic character to publications other than those of the Communist Party or of parties affiliated with the Communist International. (This clause shall not be considered as prohibiting the contribution of articles written from an economic or scientific standpoint to scientific or professional journals. Permission to answer an attack upon the Communist Party in the bourgeoisie press may be granted by the Central Executive Committee.)

IV. Units of Organization.

Sec. 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party shall be branches of not less than seven members. (Applicants for a charter shall fill out the form provided by the National Organization.)

Sec. 2. Two or more branches located in the same city shall form a City Central Committee. City Central Committees may include

branches in adjacent territory, subject to supervision of the central management of the party.

Sec. 3. City Central Committees and all other branches in the same state shall form State Organizations. Provided, that under the control of the Central Executive Committee more than one state may be included in a single District Organization; and provided also that District Organizations may be formed by the Central Executive Committee along the lines of industrial rather than state divisions.

Sec. 4. Branches of the Communist Party made up of members who speak a foreign language, when there are ten or more of such branches, consisting of a total not less than 750 members, may form a Language Federation. Provided, that this rule shall not apply as to members of those Federations affiliating with the party at the time of its organization or within four months thereafter. No more than one Federation of the same language may exist in the party.

Sec. 5. All language branches shall join and become part of the Federations of their language, if such a Federation exists.

Sec. 6. All subsidiary units shall be combined in the Communist Party. Branches of the cities, states, districts and federations shall be units of the Communist Party.

V. Administration.

Sec. 1. The supreme administrative body of the Communist Party shall be the convention of the party.

Sec. 2. Between the meetings of the conventions the supreme body shall be the Central Executive Committee elected by the convention. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of fifteen members. The convention shall also elect five alternates who shall take their places as members of the Central Executive Committee in case of vacancies in the order of their vote.

Sec. 3. The Central Executive Committee shall elect from its members a subcommittee of five members, who, together with the Executive Secretary and the Editor of the central organ of the party, shall be known as the Executive Council. The members of the Executive Council shall live in the city in which the National Headquarters are located or in adjacent cities. This Executive Council shall carry on the work of the party under the supervision of the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 4. The Convention shall elect an Executive Secretary and the Editor of the central organ of the party. All other officials shall be appointed by the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 5. The Executive Secretary and Editor shall conduct their work under the direction of the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 6. The supreme administrative power of the State, District, Federation, or City units shall be vested in the conventions of these respective units. Conventions of the State or District Organization shall be held in May or June each year.

Sec. 7. Between conventions of the District, State, and Federations the Central Executive Committee of these organizations shall be the supreme bodies.

Sec. 8. The Central Executive Committee of these organizations shall in each case be elected by the conventions, which shall also determine the number of members.

Sec. 9. The City Central Committees shall consist of delegates elected by the branches upon the basis of proportional representation. They shall meet at least once each month. The City Central Committees shall elect their Executive Committees and Executive Officers.

Sec. 10. Each Federation shall elect a Translator-Secretary, who shall have an office in the National Headquarters and whose salary shall be paid by the National Organization. Translator-Secretaries are the representatives of their organizations in the National Headquarters, and shall serve as mediums of communication. They shall submit monthly to the Executive Secretary and the State and District Organizations a statement showing all the dues stamps sold during the previous month. Translator-Secretaries shall not be eligible to membership in the Central Executive Committee but shall meet with the Committee and the Executive Council and have a voice but no vote.

VI. Dues.

Sec. 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents, which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Organization. The fifty cents shall be divided between the branch and City Central Committee. Where there is no City Central Committee its share shall be paid to the State or District Organization.

Sec. 2. Each member shall pay forty cents per month in dues. Stamps shall be sold to the State or District Organization at fifteen cents; State or District Organizations shall sell stamps to the City Central Committees and branches in cases where there are no City Committees at twenty-five cents; City Central Committees shall sell stamps to branches at thirty cents.

Sec. 3. Branches of Language Federation shall purchase their dues stamps through their Federations. Translator-Secretaries shall pay ten cents per stamp to the National Organization and shall remit to each State or District Organization ten cents for each stamp sold each month. Where a City Central Committee exists the State or District Organization shall remit five cents of this amount to the City

Central Committee. Members of Language Federation Branches pay forty cents per stamp, ten cents going to the branch and ten cents to the Federation.

Sec. 4. Special assessment may be levied by the National Organization, Federations, or the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

Sec. 5. Husband and wife belonging to the same branch may purchase dual stamps, which shall be sold at the same price as the regular stamps. Special assessments must be paid by both husband and wife.

Sec. 6. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness, or for similar reasons shall, upon application to their financial secretary, be furnished exempt stamps. Provided that no State or District Organization or Federation shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than 5 per cent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps.

Sec. 7. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

VII. Discipline.

Sec. 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units of the organizations.

Sec. 2. Any member or organization violating the decisions of the party shall be subject to expulsion by the organization which has jurisdiction. Charges against members shall be made before branches, subject to appeal by either side to the City Central Committee or State or District Organization where there is no City Central Committee. Charges against the branches shall be made before the City Central Committee, or where there is no City Central Committee before the State or District Organization. Decisions of the City Central Committee in the case of branches shall be subject to revision by the State or District Organization. Charges against State or District Organizations shall be made before the Central Executive Committee. When a City Central Committee expels a Federation branch, the branch shall have the right to present its case to the Central Executive Committee of the Federation. If the Central Executive Committee of the Federation decides to that effect, it may bring an appeal for reinstatement before the Central Executive Committee of the party, which shall make final disposition of the matter.

Sec. 3. Members and branches of the Federation shall be subject to the discipline of the Federation. Branches expelled by the Federation shall have the right to appeal to the City Central Committee, or, when there is no City Central Committee, to the State or District Organization. If the City Central Committee or the State or District Organization does not uphold the expulsion, the matter shall be referred to the Central Committee upon documentary evidence, and if the decision of the City Central Committee or State or District Organization is upheld, the branch shall be reinstated as a branch of the Federation.

Sec. 4. Each unit of the party organization shall restrict its activities to the territory it represents.

Sec. 5. A member who desires to transfer his membership to another branch shall secure a transfer card from the financial secretary of his branch. No branch shall receive a member from another branch without such a transferral card, and upon presentation of the transfer card the secretary of the branch receiving the same shall make inquiry about the standing of the member to the secretary issuing the card.

Sec. 6. All party units shall use uniform application cards, dues books, and accounting records, which shall be printed by the National Organization.

Sec. 7. All employees of the party must be party members.

VIII. Headquarters.

Sec. 1. The National Headquarters of the party shall be located in Chicago. In an emergency District or State Office may be used as the National Headquarters.

IX. Qualifications.

Sec. 1. Members of the Central Executive Committee, the Executive Secretary, Editor, International Delegates, and International Secretary and all candidates for political office must have been members of the party for two years at the time of their election or nomination. Those shall be eligible to election to party offices or nomination to public office on June 1, 1920, who join the Communist Party before Jan. 1, 1920. All who state their intention of joining the Communist Party shall be eligible at this convention.

X. Conventions.

Sec. 1. National Conventions shall be held annually during the month of June, the specific date and place to be determined by the Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee may call Emergency Conventions, and such conventions may also be called by referendum vote.

Sec. 2. Representation at the National Convention shall be upon the basis of one delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof; provided, that when the number of delegates would exceed a total of 200 the Central Executive Committee shall increase the basis of representation so that the number of delegates shall not exceed that figure.

Sec. 3. Delegates shall be apportioned to the State or District Organizations on the basis of one delegate for each such organization, and the apportionment of the balance on the basis of the average membership for the six months prior to the issue of the call for the convention. Delegates shall be elected at the Convention of the State or District Organization.

Sec. 4. Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid their traveling expenses and a per diem of \$5.00.

Sec. 5. The call for the convention and the apportionment of delegates shall be published not later than April 1.

XI. Referendum and Recall.

Sec. 1. Referendums on the question of party platform policy or constitution shall be held upon the petition of 25 or more branches representing 5 per cent of the membership; 2) or by initiative of the Central Executive Committee; 3.) or by initiative of the National Convention.

Sec. 2. All officers of the National Organization or those elected to public office shall be subject to recall upon initiative petition of 25 or more branches, representing 5 per cent of the membership. A recall vote of the membership may also be initiated by the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 3. Each motion and resolution shall be printed in the official bulletin and remain open for ninety days from the date of first publication, and, if it has then not received the requisite number of seconds, it shall be abandoned. The vote on each referendum shall close sixty days after its submission.

Sec. 4. Referendums shall be submitted without preamble or comment, but the party press shall be open for discussion of the question involved during the time the referendum is pending.

XII. International Delegate and Secretary.

Sec. 1. Delegates to the International Congress and alternates and an International Secretary and alternate shall be elected by the convention.

Schedule.

Any branch of the Socialist Party or Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Communist Party and applies for a charter before Jan. 1, 1920, shall be accepted as a branch.

The provisions of Art. III, Section 4, shall not be enforced until after Dec. 1, 1919, except as to the two signatures.

RECOMMENDATION.

That this Convention authorize the secretary immediately to issue a Special Organization Stamp to sell at fifty cents to create a fund for the organization of the party.

EXHIBIT 4.

[Front.]

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution, and pledges himself to engage actively in its work.

Name_____ Occupation_____
Address_____ City_____
Where employed_____
Endorsed by_____

Applications must be endorsed by two members in good standing.

[Back.]

RECORD.

Name of branch_____
Name of local_____

Art. III, Sec. 5 of Communist Party Constitution provides:

Applications for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice and no vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to the charter members of new branches nor to the members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

Application presented to branch_____
Application approved by branch_____

Address_____ Sec.

Approved by City Central Committee.
Signed_____ Sec.

Address_____

EXHIBIT 5.

NOVOMIRSKY—MANIFESTO OF ANARCHISTS-COMMUNISTS.

[Published by the Federation of Unions of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada. New York, 1919. Price 8 (eight) cent.]

THE STRUGGLE OF CLASSES.

The collective struggle for existence lies at the foundations of social life. The organization and history of the long and mighty struggle is also society in its development.

In order to make this struggle successful, people must harmonize their efforts as much as possible; in other words, adapt their work to their instruments as much as possible. These relations of people to the combat with nature are of an economic or productional character. Their form depends upon the instruments of toil, and upon the degree of development of the productive powers of society.

Every form of production corresponds to the precise form of its appropriations; that is, to the precise form of property ownership which is preserved by the governing system of law.

The productional relations of people depend but little upon human will, inasmuch as they constitute the semielementary process of adaptation to lifeless instruments of labor.¹ But the forms of property ownership are entirely the products of the destruction of the existing law.

In primitive times instruments of labor were very simple, and economic conditions were equally simple, and the division of labor into organization and production was in the most embryonic stage.

But when the powers of production developed, naturally the organizational and productional functions were separated. Society was divided into classes. The productive class carried on a struggle *immediately* with nature, changing and assimilating it by an expenditure of their energy. The organizational class *guides* people in this struggle and organizes their relation to production.

In the course of time the producing class, bearing the heavy burden of toil by reason of their ignorance and downtrodden condition, became subservient to the organizational class, who performed

their social functions as an enlightened and powerful people. Society was divided into two hostile classes—the persecutors and the persecuted, the exploiters and the exploited, lords and slaves.

Every governing class naturally wishes to maintain for all time its privileged position. With this purpose it must firmly defend the existing form of ownership and its outward expression—a given system of law.

But how can this be done? First of all, it is necessary to consecrate in the eyes of the persecuted ones the existing conditions of law and economics, and various religions or philosophical systems of morals are created or developed. For this purpose force is needed, and courts, police, and armies are created. Thus does government inevitably grow up.

So long as social organization fulfills its basic function of cooperating in a collective struggle with nature, and the governing class proves itself to be an actual organizer of production, society lives and peacefully develops. But sooner or later technical improvements lead to revolution on the lives of production. In order that there be a normal functionation of society, there must be a corresponding change in the form of property ownership. But this necessary change comes in conflict with the interests of the exploiting class and its formidable organized force—governmental authority.

As a result, the form of appropriation of the product—that is, the form of ownership—finds itself in conflict with the form of its production—that is, with economic conditions. All the advantage is on the side of the governing class, and all the suffering is the lot of the oppressed. Society ceases to be an organization for collective struggle with nature and becomes the cause of degeneration of the working masses.

That is not all. The governing class not only became an obstacle to the further development of society, but made itself a socially useless parasite. Its destiny was to organize general production. With the change of the conditions of production as a consequence of mechanical improvements, this rôle of organizer was relegated to another social group, arising from the ranks of the hitherto homogeneous masses of the oppressed.

Then the class struggle assumed an especially violent form. A new organizational class entered the struggle with the old in order to wrest from it the class dictatorship or political hegemony. As the old régime led the masses of the people through great hardships, they would gladly follow new organizing leaders and with their blood help to overthrow their old lords, but alas! only in order to place new burdens upon their shoulders and begin the harsh struggle anew.

¹ In an issue of the present work, in 1905, the author, in treating of the question of estimating the degree of influence of the powers of production upon the historical development of society, undoubtedly was still under the influence of bourgeois and social-democratic economists; whereas, in his latest work, "FROM THE PROGRAM OF SYNDICAL ANARCHISM," edition of 1907, he has already appraised this influence from the anarchistic point of view, directly stating on page 15: "We do not regard the instruments, but the owner of the instruments, as the maker of history—the conscious activity of man; they fell (come?) from man." According to such a deduction, the views of the author should have changed concerning the rôle of the productional forces, namely, productional forces do not govern man, but man governs the forces of production, adapting the instruments of labor to his purposes.—Publisher.

So the objective class struggle has as its final aim the creation of new forms of ownership for new forms of products—that is a struggle for right. But with a change in economic conditions, old creeds and ideals wither and die and a new morality grows up among the oppressed; the struggle of classes subjectively assumes the character of a struggle for new ideals and a new morality.

The class struggle can not enter upon nor end in a compromise like its fountainhead social organization, the division of society into exploiting organizers and exploited producers. There are necessarily opposing interests and opposing ideals among the struggling classes. Their struggle is the struggle of two worlds, the past and the future—the old world must perish in order to make place for the new.

The entire historical life of humanity is written in the blood of the struggles of classes. In it the East *pined* away and the classic world was stifled.

After centuries of the most savage class struggle Roman society lapsed into a dull by-lane where it has writhed convulsively to this day where it was not wiped out by innumerable masses of *fair-haired* barbarians.

It had to perish, because not one social class could take upon itself the initiative of regenerating the antiquated forms of property ownership corresponding to new conditions of production arising from the development of productional forces.

As a matter of fact, slavery as a form of ownership finished its career, for it was no longer possible even to feed the producing slaves, and the dominating class were transformed into the parasites of to-day, as even the organization of production passed into the hands of intelligent slaves. No further development was possible in the line of slavery, and it was necessary to free the slaves; that is, to change the form of ownership. But a full emancipation of the slaves in view of the low productivity of labor would have been tantamount to the ruin of the dominating class. It is clear that they, one and all, as a class, could not take upon themselves the initiative steps for their own ruin.

But the slaves, owing to their ignorance, diversity of race, and scattered condition, did not perfect a clear class consciousness and class organization which could assume the grand task of social revolution.

The impulse came from without. Decrepit Roman society fell beneath the blows of barbarians and their allied slaves, as formerly the East had fallen under the blows of Rome. Still class exploitation did not disappear, but only changed its form; slavery was replaced by serfdom.

Centuries of technical development again drew from the midst of the one oppressed mass of people a new social class, that of the bourgeoisie, which in fact became the organizer of production, and perverted the feudal nobleman into just such a parasite as the slaveholder of old. But hunger, suffering, and the revolt of the people well showed that the feudal form of ownership acted as a brake upon bourgeois production. The fight and triumph of the bourgeoisie over the nobility again changed the form of exploitation; the serf became a "Free" laborer, and the feudal form of ownership gave place to that of the bourgeoisie. The dominant class were no longer in position to feed their feeder-workers. Unemployment, crises, famines, and sickness among the working classes tell of this too eloquently. But the bourgeoisie itself already became parasitical, as did the former nobility. The ruin of the bourgeois class—that is, a new change in ownership—became inevitable. The solemn hour of the great social revolution had struck.

THE EMPIRE OF CAPITAL.

The contemporary bourgeois form of appropriation, private ownership, grew out of the earlier bourgeois form of production, out of so-called handicraft.

But the great technical revolution of the 18th century radically changed all forms of industry. Small artisans with their primitive implements of labor could not compete with the mighty implements of large capitalists. Step by step, big capital with its machinery has forced its way into every corner of small industry.

The free artisan had to give up his accustomed workbench with the accustomed atmosphere of family labor, and subject himself to the harsh commands of capital. Labor lost all its charm of variety; the individual workman degenerated into a part of a soulless machine. Neither the former frequent holidays, nor the former short working days, nor the high wages of old! Capital has the tendency to seize within its cruel talons the entire life of the worker, and to turn day, night, and week day into one continuous working time; into one continuous penal servitude. At the same time the capitalist dreams to himself of a lowering of the working wage to the limit beyond which death begins.

Capital has but one longing: Uninterruptedly and boundlessly to increase the number of additions to its treasures; the quantity of squeezed-out and unpaid-for toil. Once the machine did work accessible to all; capital drew whole throngs of women and children into its sanctuary, where the sweat of delicate women and the hands of children were transmuted into lace and tissue. But the influx of these new rivals still further lowered the worker's wage, shock-

ingly lengthened the working day, rendered the condition of the laborer still more precarious and hopeless. The terrible death rate, incredible increase of occupational diseases, mental dulling, and moral hardening formed a marvelous culmination of this brilliant capitalistic progress.

But it is not sufficient to squeeze all the working force possible from the life blood of the workman; the capitalist must sell the wares created by labor. And here, after a shameless, wasteful expenditure of human forces of slaves to-day, a senseless struggle for the sale of the products of blood, and a competition begins between the capitalists themselves. And in this conflict the richer scores a victory and snatches wealth from the hands of his vanquished rival.

Crises and colonial wars come as results of this insatiable thirst to produce and sell as much as possible. The market is inevitably filled with wares which can not be bought by the impoverished masses of the people. A powerful slump in prices begins. The capitalists curtail or suppress production and commercial and financial settlements. Whole masses of workers are left on the street without employment and threatened with hunger, poverty, and crime. This terror continues so long as the superfluous masses of goods are not sold, and the prices do not rise, and the equilibrium is not restored; then the crisis gradually gives way to the daybreak, in order again to make place for a still more prolonged, profound, and more severe crisis.

There can be but one means of protection against crises with capitalists: The opening of new markets. And the capitalist ransacks the whole world with fire and sword in order to gain, not glory—Oh, no!—but a market. Woe unto the laggard nation that does not wish to comprehend the magnanimous impulses of the enlightened bourgeoisie to endow and bestrew it with his wares! The "Honor" of a cultured nation demands revenge, and bayonets and cannons are needed to compel "Barbarians" to use products of national industries. In this way capitalism inevitably leads to cruel colonial wars.

In order to keep for themselves the markets which they have gained by plunder and violence and restrain the growing revolt in the spirit of the working class, the bourgeoisie have imposed such a heavy burden of militarism and marinism on the shoulders of the people that society will be stifled if it is not liberated by labor's revolution.

Crises, unemployment, and hunger; a tremendous percentage of mortality among the workers; an intolerable burden of taxation; recruiting for the army, which kills in men all that is free, proud, and enlightened—prostitution—these are what the bourgeoisie have

brought to the world. But it not only destroyed the well-being of the laboring masses, it rudely invaded all the recesses of human life and soiled and debased it. It turned the comfortable workshop into dirty manufacturing barracks and the family into prostitution; made the restless spirit of gain the very soul of life, war of all against all—these are its laws.

It was not ashamed to bring falsehood and vice into that sacred temple of science where not long ago it most reverentially offered sacrifices to the God of Reason. Its lackeys, hired scholars, began a shameful sermon on religion and metaphysical idealism to create and restore the most senseless system of morals; they began to raise from the dust all that which itself had thrown so insolently on the ground in time of youth. And all this merely in order to poison the working class with spiritual venom, to lull their consciousness with metaphysical opium, and, under the protection of God and morality, maintain their cruel dominion, the empire of cash and profit.

Without doubt the world expected a new, complete barbarism; an incredible growth of wealth upward, and a frightful misery downward! Gigantic development of scientific knowledge in a small privileged circle and boundless ignorance among the masses. On the one hand, the growth of man's dominion over nature, and on the other hand the swift degeneration of the working class.

But, happily for humanity and culture, forces were born in the bosom of contemporary society which must and can put an end to the empire of capital. And these forces grow with every day! No one can stop their growth. Against them prison, army, and false science are powerless. Slowly and faithfully they are blowing up the very roots of the present order of things. These forces are the consciousness and organization of the working class.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

All the sufferings and torments of former oppressed toiling classes could not give full freedom to the toiler because the producing forces were too feeble for a full economic equality; that is, a completely free organization of labor, to bring humanity forward and not backward, and because the toiling class were not sufficiently developed in order themselves to undertake the direction of production. But, when organizing production, the organizers inevitably placed themselves at its head, *economic inequality* sooner or later lead them to *political dominion*, to a class dictatorship. Were not the ancient patriarchs generally useful, and persons necessary to production? And yet, out of these peaceful patriarchs grew the Greek and Roman aristocrats. And could European society have dispensed with the profoundly useful activities of the feudal landlords who in the beginning of the Middle Ages built mills and highways, kept peaceable

toilers and lived no better than the lowest laborer? But in the course of time they degenerated into the vilest, most presumptuous, useless and despotic caste. And our lewd, licentious, cruel bourgeoisie? Was it not born in the bosom of our peaceful city workshops? All history irrefutably convinces us that where there is an organizational group, sooner or later an economic inequality will be created, which inevitably crowns the organizers with political dominion. Only a free *anarchistic* organization of society gives room for the formation of new classes of the oppressed. But it was capitalism only that first made the terms for the complete liberation of the working class.

The gigantic implements of the present have increased the productivity of labor a thousand fold. Any country now produces, or can produce, enough to satisfy even the demands of luxury for all society. And a rational agriculture could feed one hundred times the present population. Only absolute ignorance, or blind devotion to the interests of the dominating class can deny the fact that the present immense productive forces render communism perfectly possible.

But what shall we say of our means of communication, our theaters, museums, universities, and clubs? How much intellectual and artistic enjoyment can they afford to a liberated humanity? Yes, only at present is there a material foundation for a complete emancipation of labor, for a complete emancipation of the sacred human personality.

Capital did still more: It created that social force which can and must assume the task of destroying bourgeois society—it created the proletariat of the present. And not only created it, but aroused its consciousness and drove it to the work of class organization.

In the nature of capital lies the tendency to level all the working class before the despotic will of capital. A uniform working day, a uniform hour for beginning and ceasing work, a uniform discipline, the same exploiter, and almost a uniform wage! All this involuntarily develops among workers the idea of the solidarity of their interests and awakens a mutual brotherly sympathy. Moreover, capitalism concentrates the industrial and commercial working classes in some places and thereby immeasurably increases their force, renders them masters of industrial centers, and it may boldly be said, masters of nearly all countries.

Mutual work, mutual struggle, mutual sufferings, create among the working classes noble dreams and the consciousness of their great social significance and high historic mission. And the growth of this consciousness is parallel with that of capitalism.

When capitalism was still weak in its development it represented something casual and transitory. The struggle of the working classes is still of a casual and transitory nature. We then see only solitary

outbursts from the laborers, often because of silly nothings. At this stage of capitalism the struggle of the laborers is purely elementary. They have no conception of social antagonism. They attribute their hard condition to abuse by the boss or master. It is quite clear that the idea does not enter their heads of forming any sort of labor organization to protect their interests; you see, they have the haziest sort of conception of those interests. In order to remove this or that "Abuse" by the master, it seems sufficient to punish well the guilty party; the factory must be burned, machines broken, the master murdered, but a permanent organization is superfluous.

But the further development of capitalism establishes, by the general conditions of labor, also the position of laborers in a large number of enterprises and in whole branches of industry. Separate and particular trifles are relegated to the rear; the matter of primary importance for the whole mass of workers is to acquire for them common conditions of labor and common pains of exploitations. The time has come for mass strikes or partial ones. Then will be buried the former naive, utopian view of capitalism and social conditions; then for the first time will mature the idea of the solidarity of workers, or at least of their professional solidarity. Elementary strikes will give way to thorough ones. Workmen's battling professional organizations will be created.

In the subsequent development of capitalism, with the complete triumph of big production, machinery will forge the chains, binding the worker to the capitalist, the master and sovereign of the country. Society will be converted into one prodigious factory where the same capitalists will be in command, with the same oppressed and crushed worker. Disputes between separate groups of exploiters will disappear more and more. Industrial capitalists, merchants, financiers and agriculturists will turn into one mass, one closely united class, living upon the lifeblood of workers. But differences among the workers will also disappear; distinctions and rivalry between skilled and unskilled laborers will die out, and intelligent workers will be converted into real proletariats. Then it will not be a struggle of separate groups of workmen with separate capitalists: Proletariat will battle with Bourgeois, and labor with Capital. At that stage of development there will be an enormous national and international union of workmen and the idea will mature of a united and world-wide organization of labor. That will be the epoch of general strikes.

What will there be further?

One must be blind in order not to see how new and recent phases of the struggle of the working class are outlining themselves on the horizon.

Through a general strike within the bounds of the existing order of things an eight-hour, or even seven-hour, working-day may be secured, as well as considerable increase in pay. But further mechanical improvements, the growth of the army of the unemployed, the entry of new capitalistic competitors into the arena, crises, increased cost of articles of prime necessity, the growth of the burden of taxation, will almost nullify the significance of the amelioration heretofore won by conquest. It is imperatively necessary for workers to throw themselves against the barrier—against capitalism. They must then understand that it is not a matter of the capitalists of one country or of the whole world but of the capitalistic order of things itself. Then the direct purpose of the struggle will be social revolution, and the program of the day will be the destruction of private ownership by all the means of production.

In that manner the proletariat with their revolution will remove the fundamental abnormality of present-day society—a private form of appropriation where there is a general form of production and private ownership on the basis of collectivism.

But what effect will the form of property have upon articles of consumption? Will they remain as private property or will they become the property of all? In other words, in the future will production alone be general or will consumption also be likewise? Upon this point there is dispute between collectivism and communism.

COMMUNISM INEVITABLE.

What lies at the foundation of communism? A clear and exact principle: To every one according to his needs. That means that all members of labor societies have the same right to the satisfaction of all their daily necessities. We have already stated that present society made communism *possible*. It is now necessary to show only that every other form is impossible, and that communism is *necessary*.

In fact, what does collectivism say? "To every one according to his labor," or in other words, "To every one the product of his labor."

What a pitiful Utopia!

To every one according to his labor! But how measure the quantity of labor of separate individuals? Every branch of labor is so crowded, so indissolubly linked with the rest that it is quite impossible to determine what share of the product belongs to each of them. How will the general product be distributed upon which, not two or three branches of industry, but all mankind, not only in the present, but also in the past, were employed?

Now, in every item of present production there is concealed an immense amount of work of all past generations. More than that: how is to be determined what belongs to every member of society?

If labor is to be measured by the hours of work, how is the working time to be measured? Is it necessary to admit that all aspects of labor, and all hours of labor are equal?

If all hours of labor are equal on one and the same working day, all wages will also be equal. Now, this plainly shows that every member of society will have the right to an equal share of the general wealth. This is a roundabout recognition of communism, which anarchists are openly aiming at.

If, then, the aspects of labor are not equal among themselves, how will the social democratic leaders establish relations between them? Now they carry on a merciless competition in an elementary manner. But that, now, will disappear along with private ownership of means of production. Who, then, will establish relations between the labor of the weaver, the tailor, and the teacher? When and by whom shall be found a criterion for an appraisal of all the varieties of human labor? Nowhere and by no one except on arbitrary law-making authority.

The law determines by whom, where, how, and how much work shall be done. Thus the law establishes the relations between all aspects of labor; that is, who should get such and such pay for his labor.

It is clear that from the pay of each workman the Government will deduct (1) the expense of maintaining the law-making authority and the executive officers; (2) means for maintaining those incapable of working; (3) the expense of keeping up public institutions; and (4) for compensation higher than average wages for those kinds of work which the law recognizes as more complicated. How much ignorance and impudence are needed to declare that under such circumstances everyone should be paid according to his work? Now, with the same right, the present-day bourgeois may claim that in bourgeois society every workman should be paid according to his work, according to the amount of energy expended.

In what way, then, is the renowned collectivism distinguished from capitalism? The wages of labor remain untouched, the working-day is regulated by law, economic inequality remains, and, most important of all, there still remains the most shameful institution of the times—hired labor. What has been changed? In all probability wages have been somewhat increased. That is all. Will unemployment, that scourge of the workman, disappear? Not at all. You see, the State will pay only for work that it recognizes as generally useful at the time. For that reason it is not impossible that many workmen

will not have work because of a plethora of labor in this or that branch of work. For, if the State will pay every laborer for any work that he likes, it will be quite unable to regulate production and can not prevent nonproduction. Production will fall into an absurd chaos such as not anarchy but its foulest caricatures can show.

The state can escape this chaos in only two ways: Either by not paying superfluous workers and in that way forcing them to seek other lines of labor, where working forces are needed, or by compelling them to take up this or that employment.

The first means completely restores contemporary capitalism, and the second goes further and resurrects all the charms of slavery. The only difference is that now the employer or proprietor of labor is voluntarily selected by the people by means of a general election, and their yoke will be all the more lasting because they will content themselves with the fiction of national self-sovereignty. The historical irony will be repeated which attached to the Roman proletariat when by law they were considered the rulers of the world, and overlords of all the earth and all nations, but who, themselves, lived but half fed upon the bounty of their own masters, the authorities of the state. Many things in common with the Roman Republic are promised us by our future Socialistic Republic. The radical difference will consist only in the fact that the Roman State was constructed upon a foundation of slavery, but the Socialistic State will be founded upon hired labor. We can therefore say with confidence that collectivism is only a further development of capitalism. And capital already feels the need of a nationalization of land. The nationalization of the remaining means of production is being completed little by little by the trusts. Collectivism crowns this elementary process and delivers all means of production to one trust, selected by the people. But as the slave could not be made free by giving him the right to choose his master, so the hired laborer remains a slave of the present time, although he obtains the right to choose his employers. Collectivism is merely State Capitalism. The workman becomes a complete slave to his master-State, since the only barrier to the arbitrary will of the present-day capitalist vanishes, namely: Competition between the capitalists themselves. The state becomes the sole owner of capital, the sole employer and the sole holder of authority. The authority of owners, judges, and police will be concentrated in the hands of a single master—the State, omnipresent and almighty.

It is clear that the judges and functionaries and in general the so-called intelligent workers would obtain an unprecedented influence. From the feudal aristocracy of the sword and the bourgeois aristocracy of the sack-of-gold would grow the new aristocracy—that of knowledge. How terrible this yoke would be it is difficult now to imagine.

Fortunately collectivism shows itself to be just such a Utopianism as feudalism. The new social revolution would wind up with this new form of slavery and there would come that social order of things which alone can be the lasting successor of capitalism, namely, complete communism; that is, common ownership of all means of production, and of products for consumption.

But communism in the economic field must inevitably be crowned with anarchy in the field of politics. Therefore, along with complete destruction of private ownership must go complete destruction of the State.

THE STATE.

What is the State? We already know the answer to this question. The State is an organization for the preservation of existing forms of ownership; that is, of given forms of exploitation. In all times, from the era of the Orient down to our day, class society rested upon the State. China, Egypt, India, Judea, Rome, and Greece, the municipal communes of the Middle Ages, free cities, monarchies—and republics—in a word, all the societies of history worked out only certain forms of state authority only as class antagonism was developed within them. The diversity of forms of state corresponded to the various conditions of warring classes.

But Oriental despotism, the city commune, and free Novgorod, like every state, have one fundamental task—to preserve the existing form of property ownership. How is this to be done? There is but one means; to prevent and punish any attempt upon it.

This is attained first of all by the gradual building up of a whole system of mutual binding norms, a system of law. Upon this basis sooner or later will arise a special organ—the law-giving authority. In societies having a ruling class few in number concentrated in one center, such an organ consists of the entire ruling class altogether, assembled in common council. In more extensive societies, with the deepening of the class struggle, the law-giving function passes to the leader of the ruling class—the king or some prominent group of families from among the lords. In bourgeois society, the *official* law-giver is the sovereign nation, the actual assembly of delegates of the bourgeoisie—parliament, the same as *officially* in bourgeois society every man draws from the national wealth proportionately to his general usefulness, but *as a matter of fact* all wealth is in the hands of the bourgeoisie alone; as in production the workman spends his life only in order to augment the *material* might of the bourgeoisie, so in parliament the representatives of workers only strengthen the authority of the *political dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*.

Besides the law-making authority an organ is needed whose function is to decide questions as to whether the law has been violated, and which law. This is the court. Whether the judicial authority is

chosen by the ruling class by means of the ballot or by lot, whether appointed by a king or elected by the whole people, it can have but one task to perform, that of punishing every violation of the existing law.

The crowning feature of the state is its executive authority in which is vested the material power which, day in and day out, forestalls, cuts off, and punishes. It is government, with police, spies, gendarmes, and armies. A distinct organization of governmental authority at various times and places arose only from the necessity of the best possible adaptation to given social conditions.

All these parts of state authority are bound to each other with indissoluble ties, like the links of one chain. Where there exists the smallest embryo of authority, even if only in the form of mutually binding laws, sooner or later through natural necessity the whole state machine will arise; at first the court, and then a more or less mitigated form of government, and subsequently also a suitable form of organized forces. Whether the laws shall simply be called rules for regulating production, or whether the government shall bear the modest title of central industrial committee, or any sort of social group is tagged with the name, even of noble citizens—preservers of the legal order—it is all the same; we have before us an embryo which will soon turn into a real state vampire. Therefore, negation of the army and police is negation also of government, court and law.

We see such a complete absence of state authority only in primitive society, where there was no division into classes; that is, property was held in common. There we see no laws; customs take their place. There is no court, because all society shares the customs as well as property. There is also no executive authority, as there is no foundation for it—laws and courts. So, in spite of all conscious and unconscious idealists of the fist and the police, mankind lived and developed for thousands of years and carried on the same hard struggle with nature without any beneficent state authority.

The history of the state is the history of the enslavement of the toiling masses—the history of oppression, plunder, and violence. The state has always crushed every phase of human activity with its heavy paws. Under its poisonous breath, art has withered, poetry has died, and noble aspirations to liberty and light have fruitlessly perished.

Examine the history of mankind; if you come upon some bright oasis, you are at once convinced that it was a time of absence or weakening of the state authority. Why was the development of the Oriental peoples arrested so early at a certain stage? Because with a recrudescence of class contradictions there was created and strengthened a powerful state authority which killed all impulses toward spiritual creative power and strangled culture. When did the golden

age of Hellenism reach its Zenith? When the municipal commune, although living off the life-blood of slaves, in its own midst knew no class contradictions and had no need to exert forcible authority. But as soon as deep antagonism manifested itself in the municipal commune, a state authority grew up and Hellenism began to decay. Rome never knew an independent culture which could be compared with that of the Greeks, because the stern authority of the state which from earliest times pressed upon the Roman people, killed free creative power. And as the Roman ruling class drew its material sustenance by shamelessly sucking the life-blood of the slaves of the whole world, so it also lived on the spiritual food of conquered nations. Only one thing was created by this people—a state product par excellence—this was Roman law, which ever afterward served as an instrument of oppression, enslavement of toilers, and justification of every sort of violence and ferocity. But how about the municipal communes and free cities at the beginning of the Middle Ages? What was the cause of their sudden and marvelous bursting into bloom? It was because, in their struggle with feudalism, the ruling class needed the constant and active assistance of the people, and therefore created a weak and hardly noticeable state authority. But as soon as the state was strengthened in the communes, their death warrant was signed and they died a spiritual death; the songs of the troubadours were hushed; the wonderful national art died; everything began to wither away, and was extinguished. And how do you explain the cultural preeminence of England except by the fact that she never experienced such ferocious state authority as did continental Europe?

The state kills human personality and thereby tears up the noble roots of intellectual and moral life. There are no free people in the state—they are all officials and subjects. Its ideal is to make subjects even of its officials, in order that all may be bound to its infamous chariot, and to extirpate every possibility of a social revolution.

In Rome the ruling class made a great effort to take as their pay a whole class of people, namely, the Roman proletariat, and in that manner really delayed their downfall. But Rome realized only a part of the state ideal, for behind the bribed proletariat there remained still one class, the slaves, who could not be taken into the state service, because no one would be left to feed the aristocrats and give "Bread and circus" to the imbruted populace. The union of *this* class with the barbarians destroyed Roman society.

The bourgeoisie likewise make every effort to bind the proletariat to the bourgeois state, and in that way to bribe and corrupt them. It attacks intelligent proletarians directly into the state service. It tries to bind the industrial workers by means of state insurance. The

state attempts to take over the greatest possible number of enterprises and become the master of the greatest possible masses of workers. But it directs all these efforts to make the revolutionary elements of present society themselves interested in its existence; with this end in view it creates the so-called "State Socialism," and invites workmen to take part in legislative activities. In that way the Social Democracy with its parliamentary tactics is forging chains which bind the working class and make them a tool of the bourgeois state.

But the ideal of enslavement by the state realizes only the socialistic state, where all are officials, even more—"Soldiers of industry."¹

It is difficult to imagine a more powerful state or to think of a more fearful slavery. Woe unto mankind if the proletariat should sell their sacred right to freedom of personality for the mess of pottage of rude, beastly, herdlike ease. No! The proletariat will not place upon themselves the fearful yoke of state authority, for it is not only useless but hurtful to them.

The state is unnecessary, because with the extermination of classes its principal function will cease—the preservation of the dominion of *one* class. All the other functions can well be performed by voluntary sectional associations. The posts, telegraphs, and lines of transportation not only do not gain through state monopoly but lose much, as the state subjects them to its interests of dominion and exploitation. Still more does public education lose through the interference of the state, which, by its officialism, bureaucracy, ignoring of individuality, and its authoritativeness, instills an actual poison into the spiritual food of the people and nourishes their prejudices, which constitute the greatest obstacle to their own liberation. And the universities flourish the more as they keep the more distant from the path of the spider of state. Even in its own special field, in military art, the state is powerless, and the progress of military science is connected only with free society, as not one genius has yet come forth from the patented universities and academies. Authority kills initiative, without which nothing great can be accomplished.

Why is the state necessary to the proletariat? It cannot oppress anyone, as the triumph of the proletariat is the death of classes and privileges. To preserve the existing form of property ownership is an absurdity where complete communism dominates; that is, the property of *everybody*. To protect the established order from change is repugnant to the fundamental interests of laboring society, which can gain only by the uninterrupted development of new forms of communal life. Who, then, in the future will need state authority where it can only do harm, bring with it the vice of love of authority,

¹ End of Chapter II—"Kom Man."

become a menace to national and individual liberty, and kill the fearless impulses of human personality?

But perhaps it may be necessary as a guide to production. What narrowness of view! Would it, then, be possible to direct production without guiding the producers? Is it, then, possible to "Manage things" without managing the masters of things—people? It is clear that the innocent "Management of production" conceals within itself just such a form of domination as capitalism or slavery, as we have already shown. Free labor organizations can abolish overproduction and underproduction by means of free agreements, just as trusts very often do now. Why can capitalists regulate production excellently without the assistance, and sometimes behind the back, of the government, by means of simple contracts, while labor organizations are unable to do the same? Why should not well-arranged statistics under present means of intercourse still further lighten the task of regulating production?

Take a general view of the industry of the present day. Fundamentally it represents a whole system of labor organizations. Every one of them having turned out a mass of products, turns them over to a person who is entirely superfluous in production—the capitalist. From him the wares go into the hands of a large number of middlemen, leaving a good share of profit with each, and finally fall partly into the hands of the organizations who produced them, and partly into the hands of other workmen's associations. Why should the product follow such a roundabout way instead of the naturally direct route to the producing labor organizations? Private ownership of property requires this. It is plain what it costs only the labor organizations of the present day to refrain from prejudice against private ownership and to recognize the fact that everything belongs to everybody; and as soon as the whole pack of parasites goes overboard, hunger, unemployment, and hired labor will disappear, and with the disappearance of capitalism, all the world will be merely a union of labor organizations, society will become communistic and anarchistic.

Who can hinder this? Only one force—the State, for the bourgeoisie themselves, few in number and cowardly, could not offer even the slightest opposition to the multitudinous, closely joined and revolutionary proletariat. That is why the *destruction of the State means the principal work in the formation of the new society*. We do not wish to make some sort of a new world. No! We wish only to remove only such obstacles as hinder present day society from passing peacefully into another phase, and manifestly drive it to new barbarism and ruin. We see that the beginnings of communism and anarchy have already fully matured in the bosom of present-day society, but government forcibly maintains the present order of

poverty, injustice, and ignorance; and naturally the slogan suggests itself: Down with the State! Long live anarchy!

OUR TACTICS.

What should be our means of carrying on the fight?

The tactics of the working class should not be a matter of invention or contrivance, nor imparted from without, any more than their ideal, the overthrow of Capital and the State. No! It must be *revealed* in the bosom of present-day society. It is necessary carefully to learn where are those elements, the development of which will destroy present society and create a new one. Having discovered these elements, we must with our tactics consciously hasten their development.

As the labor organizations of the present are the germs of future free associations, as the natural weapon of the laboring class, the strike, is the seed of our tactics.

We see that the proletariat, along with the development of capitalism, more and more broaden and deepen their struggle; partial strikes lose their significance, and mass strikes pass into general ones.

What must we do, the vanguard of the proletariat? We must consciously hasten the elementary movement of the struggle of the working class; we must convert small strikes into general ones, and convert the latter into an armed revolt of the laboring masses against Capital and State.

At the time of this revolt we must at the first favorable opportunity proceed to an immediate seizure of all means of production and all articles of consumption, and make the working class the masters *in fact* of all general wealth. At the same time we must mercilessly destroy all remains of governmental authority and class domination, liberating the prisoners, demolish prisons and police offices, destroy all legal papers pertaining to private ownership of property; all field fences and boundaries, and burn all certificates of indebtedness—in a word, we must take care that everything is wiped from the earth that is a reminder of the right to private ownership of property; to blow up barracks, gendarme and police administration, shoot the most prominent military and police officers, must be the important concern of the revolting working people. In the work of destruction we must be merciless, for the slightest weakness upon our part may afterwards cost the working class a whole sea of needless blood. In completely destroying all vestiges of the dominion of Capital and State, we must try as soon as possible to start production upon new foundations. That is, extend the existing labor organizations and their unions, and give production over to them. Every city should begin the work separately, and proclaim a commune; that is, the union of all free labor organiza-

tions will become masters of the city. At the first favorable opportunity, the city commune will get in touch and establish relations with the surrounding village communes. The extension of the union and the unification of all communes into one grand national and international federation is a matter of further development.

But is such a general strike possible now? Is it not a Utopian effort to call for a general and simultaneous stoppage of work, production, and commerce? Skepticism upon this point is founded upon a simple misunderstanding of that close interdependence which exists between all branches of toil; hardly anyone can work without the others, and a stoppage of work in some fields of industry must inevitably cause a strike in all the others.

We are asked: Does a universal strike have any chance of success? How can the entire laboring class be fed, even if but for a few days? Would not such a strike inevitably end in a complete defeat of the workers? Undoubtedly a general strike system of "Folded arms" would have to suffer a complete failure. But we will not summon the working class to a social revolution in order to strengthen in them a respect for private ownership of property created by their bloody toil. On that day when all workers go forth upon the street we will say to them: "See how all productive and commercial life is stilled, how dark and dismal stand the silent mills, manufactories, workshops, and warehouses from that minute when we stopped work. Who created all this wealth, if not you workers? To whom should it belong, if not to you, the proletariat? What then—is it possible that you will suffer and starve in the midst of this sea of products created by your toil? Throw away your slavish respect for the law; take everything you need! Feed all the hungry! And everybody put on clean holiday attire! Destroy your dirty cellars and move into the luxurious palaces of the idle rich! Whosoever shall hinder you remove him from your path as a foe of your freedom!" As is evident, we anarchists have beautiful means of feeding the working class who stop work.

But they may tell us that the advantages of a general strike will not warrant the fearful sacrifices which it must cost. To that we will give a clear answer. We would like to save the proletariat from needless suffering. But how is this to be done? We are convinced that legislative reforms will accomplish almost nothing for workers, or will be rendered futile by the bourgeoisie. It is therefore necessary for the working class *themselves*, through *their* activities, and *their* struggles, to gain for themselves a better existence. But for the workers there is only one weapon of war—the strike. But the partial strike loses in importance every day with the growth of the power of capital and with the augmentation of capitalistic unions. But one mighty, irresistible, and fearful weapon

remains in the hands of the workers—a general strike. How can we desist from it? Where was it ever seen that any class obtained freedom without great effort and severe suffering? Look around and ask yourselves how much blood the bourgeoisie have drunk every hour all over the world. We note these senseless sheddings of blood only because they are committed under the protection of shameless law. What are we afraid of then? For the working class there is the choice only between eternal slavery and bloody struggle. Our choice is made, and we call all workers to a merciless war upon Capital and Government.

But they may still say to us: is it possible that you dream of breaking such a formidable force as that of present-day government? We answer that the general strike is the best means of weakening and destroying that force. The army is strong only at that time when it is concentrated at a few points and fully maintains a strict discipline. But what will become of the army when it has to be scattered all over the country? What will become of discipline when the soldier is convinced that he has to do, not with a little bunch of "Internal enemies" but with the whole of the working people? Will he not remember that he left kindred in his home-land who are also on a strike and who are also threatened with death at the muzzle of a gun? Does not the heart of the worker in uniform quake before the grand majesty of a people in revolt? Does there not awaken in him a fraternal feeling of the solidarity of all toilers, of all the oppressed? In that hour the army will at once stand powerless in the face of rebellious toil, and Government will crumble away to the exulting shouts of liberated humanity.

So that for us, anarcho-communists, the economic struggle and the political struggle do not in themselves represent two entirely separate provinces set apart from each other. No! They flow together for us in one and the same struggle of the same working class against all forms of oppression—against Capital and against Government.

We alone give life to the great principle: "*The liberation of workers must be the business of the working class themselves*," for we do not entrust the liberation of the toilers to a gang of politicians, unloading upon the shoulders of the proletariat *only* the grievous struggle for small reforms. We are convinced that only the *direct* struggle of the working class can and must lead to a complete destruction of the existing order of things.

We may therefore formulate our tactics thus: *By participating in the struggle of the working class, guiding it, and uninterruptedly widening and deepening that struggle, kindle and maintain the conflagration of civil war until we have torn up by the roots Capitalism and Government.*

This is our teaching and this is our means of struggle! Let the absurd tale about the "New barbarians" disappear! We do not

wish to destroy culture (civilization?) but the yoke of slavery; we are "Barbarians" only for the Messrs. present-day slaveholders.

Harsh are the means of our struggle. But is this our fault? Cruel life pushes us into the fight and puts into our hands an iron hammer to smash enemies without mercy and attain the goal, our glorious goal—

We go tranquilly, cheerfully, not because it is not painful to us eternally to be calling to bloody combat. No! No! But because there, far beyond the corpses of heroes, beyond the blood-covered barricades, beyond all the terrors of civil war, there already shines for us the magnificent, beautiful form of man without a god, without a master, and free of authority.

We hate religion because it lulls the spirit with lying tales, takes away courage and faith in the power of man—faith in the triumph of justice here on the real earth and not in a chimerical heaven. Religion covers everything with fog; real evil becomes visionary, and visionary good a reality. It has always sanctified slavery, grief, and tears. And we declare war upon all gods and religious fables. We are atheists.

We hate slavery in all its forms. And is a "Free workman" not a slave? Does the knout of the master not hang over the head of the proletariat? The workman has ceased being the slave of one lord, of one master. But is he not the slave of the whole class of masters? Let the present-day slave rise and cast off his lord—it is all the same; hunger will drive him to another master, and the collar of perpetual toil, hunger, and slavery will be tightened upon him anew. It is necessary to tear up by the roots the division of people into lords and slaves. We are communists.

We hate authority—that eternal preserver of slavery and foe of freedom. The lords having been destroyed, why leave the whip of the lords; the power of capital having been destroyed, why allow its safeguard, the State, to remain? Does giving man bread mean depriving him of freedom? Even pigs in their sty have food. Not to the happiness of citizenship do we call the workers; we call them to liberty—to absolute liberty. We are anarchists.

We wish to disperse darkness and ignorance and abolish prejudices, so that the proletarian may understand the whole world and understand himself and all the majesty of man. We wish to divert the workman from eternal anxiety about his stomach, give him a chance to unbend his back and to open to him a whole new world—a world of beautiful forms and marvellous sounds.

To you we address our speech, our brother workman! Wake up, look around you! See how poor and degraded you are! Remember that you are a man, and that you—you created all that world of wealth! Understand, that the workers of all countries are your brothers, and that you all have one task—to destroy the world of gain and create a world of

freedom; for all there is one means—an armed insurrection and forcible seizure of all instruments and all products of toil. Woe to the enemies of the laboring class!

EXHIBIT 6.

YOUR SHOP.

It should be your shop (or your factory, your store, your mill, your mine or your railroad) yours to work in, yours to produce in, yours to manage with the help of your fellow workers.

You spend most of your waking hours in the shop. The conditions under which you work and produce determine your life, your happiness.

If you and your fellow workers controlled the shop, determined the hours of labor, the working conditions, and apportioned the rewards for the services rendered, you would be able to create the conditions that would bring happiness to you. You would so arrange your work that you would not have your life sapped by long hours and bad working conditions, and so that the wealth you produced would be yours, yours to secure the enjoyment of good food, good clothing, a good home, and the opportunity for education and healthy recreation.

There is enough wealth produced to give these things to all who work. But the capitalists own the shops that should be yours. The capitalists make you work long hours under bad working conditions; they take from you as their profit the lion's share of what you produce.

They will do that as long as they own and control the shop. There is no hope as long as the shop is not yours.

Workingmen everywhere are learning this. The workingmen of Russia have shown the way. In Russia the shops, as well as all other means of production and distribution, belong to the workers.

The Russian workers organized their power. They created shop committees in every plant and united these in workers' councils. Thus they built up the means for united action. When the crisis came they were prepared to use their mass power. Before their mass power the government of the capitalists and land owners broke up and disappeared. The workers' councils became the organs of the working class government. The workers controlled the state power, the police, the army.

Having taken from the capitalists the government power through which the capitalists maintain their control of the shop and the exploitation and oppression of the workers, the workers took control of the shops. The shop committees they elected took over the management. They told the capitalists that their days as autocrats,

Czars and Kaisers of industry were over. They told them there would be no more robbery of the workers through paying them for only a part of what they produced. They told them that the shops now belonged to all the workers, and that they, the capitalists, would have to go work for a living.

And in Russia the workers are building the society that means happiness for all, in spite of all the efforts of the capitalists of the world to overthrow their government and strike down their new economic system.

The workers everywhere are growing more and more dissatisfied with the capitalists' control of the shops in which they work and spend most of their lives. That is the meaning of the great strikes in England and of the great industrial struggles in this country.

But the workers must organize to secure control of the shops. The first step is to organize a shop committee in the shop in which you work.

Bring together all the enlightened workers who are ready to participate in the struggle to win control of the shop. Organize them in a Communist Party Shop Branch. This committee will carry on the work of agitation and education among the other workers. It will collect funds and secure papers and pamphlets for distribution in the shop.

The work of the committee will be to unite all the workers in the shop in a shop organization—machinists, carpenters, shippings clerks, workers of every trade; all must unite in the one workers' organization in their shop.

Workers! You must build up the organs of working-class power if you are to win your freedom. The shop organization is the basis for the organization of the mass power of the workers.

Prepare to take control of your shop, of your work, of your lives and happiness.

ORGANIZE AND MAKE IT YOUR SHOP.

[This is Propaganda Leaflet No. 3, Issued by the Communist Party of America, 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.]

EXHIBIT 7.

THE STATE—STRIKE-BREAKER!

PROCLAMATION BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Workers, you have been told that the government of the United States is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The Communists have told you that it is a government "of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists."

The proof is before you.

The representatives of more than a half million coal miners met in convention in September. They discussed the wages and working conditions in the coal-mining industry. They found that the capitalists who owned the coal mines were making greater profits than ever, but that the increased cost of living had so reduced the buying power of the wages of the workers that they were barely getting enough for an existence.

The work of the miners is of a most dangerous character. How often have you read of the mine disasters which snuff out the lives of hundreds of miners, disasters which are due to the fact that the capitalists in their greed for profits refused to spend the money necessary to safeguard the lives of the workers! The work of the miners is health destroying. They work down in the dark places under the earth, among dangerous gases, where there is no life-giving air and sunshine.

The miners said that there were enough miners to produce enough coal to supply all the needs of the country, if they were employed regularly, working thirty hours per week, in place of being kept idle part of the time. They said a thirty-hour week in the dangerous, health-destroying places under the earth was enough. They DEMANDED a thirty-hour week.

The miners are strongly organized. All the workers in and about the mines are in the miners' union. The workers are not divided into crafts, but united in one industrial organization. They have power to enforce their demands upon the capitalists.

They made their demands upon the coal-mine owners. These capitalists standing alone had no power to resist the demands of the workers. The workers could close the mines and prevent the capitalists from making profits. If they were sufficiently conscious of the way to free themselves from exploitation, they could even take over the mines and operate them, without paying profits to the capitalists.

But the capitalists have a weapon which they have forged to keep the workers in submission.

THE CAPITALISTS CALLED IN THE GOVERNMENT, THE STATE.

All the power of the government was mobilized to prevent the miners from securing wages that will enable them to live and the working hours which should prevail in the mining industry.

The President of the United States denounced the strike as "illegal." He threatened the miners with the power of the Government of the United States if they insisted upon compelling the capitalists to grant their demands by going on strike. The Government has already secured an injunction to prevent the miners from using their own funds and the power of their organization to support the strike.

The Government of the United States through its injunction is seeking to starve the wives and children of the miners by preventing their organization from paying strike benefits. All the legal machinery of the Government is being used against the miners, and the army, the soldiers, with their death-dealing instruments, are ready to prevent the miners from securing a living wage and the hours that should prevail in the mining industry.

THE STATE HAS STEPPED IN.

This it did in the Steel Strike. This it threatens to do if there is a Railroad Strike.

The State does not coerce the capitalists; it does not tell the capitalists they must yield to the demands of the miners in order to prevent the stoppage of the mining of coal. The State never coerces the capitalists; its legal machinery is never directed against the capitalist (except occasionally against minor groups or individuals in the interest of the whole capitalist class). Its army is never used to destroy the lives of the capitalists. The State coerces the workers. Its legal machinery is used to enforce the demands upon the workers. Its army is used to destroy the lives of the workers who dare demand a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air.

WORKERS, RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF THE MINERS.

The capitalists are playing to establish an industrial slavery in which their rule will be even greater than in the past. To make strikes "illegal" and crush them with the power of the State is the first move.

The Government of the United States, which some workers have been fooled into believing is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" is in reality the government "of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists." It is the instrument through which industrial slavery is maintained.

The workers can not win their freedom, they can not win even a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air, while the capitalists control the power of the state.

The workers must conquer that power. They must make themselves the ruling class. They must establish in the place of the dictatorship of the capitalist the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

WORKERS, RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF THE MINERS. MAKE THEIR STRIKE GENERAL. UNITE FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY. TAKE FROM THE CAPITALISTS THE POWER THROUGH WHICH THEY SEEK TO INCREASE YOUR SLAVERY!

EXHIBIT 8.

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AGAINST THE VERSAILLES PEACE.

To the Workers of the World:

The governments which began the war of plunder five years ago are making an effort to end it now with a predatory peace. The English, French, and American capitalists represented in Versailles have given to representatives of the German capitalists the so-called peace terms. Versailles becomes a new Brest-Litovsk. Each one of the points of the Versailles peace is a noose to choke one or another nation.

The anger and vengeance of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the victorious coalition know no bounds. The famous organization of the "League of Nations" is being put into practice by the American-Anglo-French bourgeoisie against the will of all nations of Europe. The bourgeoisie of the Allied Powers is making an effort to cripple Germany. They are cutting off from Germany a whole series of territories; they are taking away the coal from Germany, and the bread; they wish to take away the merchant marine, also to force Germany to pay indemnities of enormous quantity. The bourgeoisie of the Allied Powers which in words fought against annexations of alien territory, is now committing a series of terrible and cynical annexations. They are trading with the colonies which belonged to Germany as with cattle. The imperialists of the Allied Powers have armed themselves with knives and are slicing the flesh of Germany.

But the predatory terms of peace which are dictated to Germany from Versailles are only one of the links in the chain of force used by the Allied Powers to imprison the world. At the same moment when these imperialists are trying to cripple and choke Germany, they are carrying on a murderous attack on the Soviet Republic of Hungary. (This attack temporarily has succeeded.)

It is they, the French and English bourgeoisie, who are the main instigators of the Roumanian soldiers at present carrying their White Guard attack against our brethren—the Hungarian workers.

It is they, the representatives of the enlightened French and English "democracy," who are the instigators of those pogroms let loose upon Red Budapest. It is they who are inspiring the Russian Black Hundreds of Kolchak, Denikine and Krasnov in their bloody war against the Russian workers and peasants.

It is they, the Anglo-French bourgeois, who have inspired the German White Guard, led by Noske, Ebert and Scheidemann, to crush the Bavarian Soviet Republic. The imperialists of the Allied Powers put a direct preliminary condition to the government of Scheidemann to crush the Soviet Power in Munich.

It is they, the Anglo-French bankers and generals, who are disarming the revolutionary soldiers in Bulgaria. It is they who are choking the mass movement of the peoples and the revolutionary spirit in Serbia and Slovakia.

International gendarmes—such are the Anglo-French and American imperialists, who claim to be the representatives of world "democracy."

All illusions are broken. The masks are thrown off. Those whom the long and terrible imperialistic war has not taught a lesson, these will have to be taught by that imperialistic peace with which the "humanitarians" of Versailles are trying to "enrich" the world. The governments which during the four and one-half years lied to their people about carrying on the war for "self-determination of nations," for "independence" of small peoples, for "freedom and culture," for "democracy,"—these governments are now unmasked as arch criminals, as the worst kind of slave drivers, showing mercy to none.

The fairy tale of the League of Nations is dying without having had a chance to flourish. After the Versailles peace terms it will be very difficult to catch many workers with the bait of the League of Nations. The League of Nations at whose cradle stands Clemenceau, the butcher, is unmasked before the whole world as a league of murderers, who are nailing to the cross the millions of the laboring masses of Europe.

The Versailles peace, with all its weight, is, first of all, laid upon the working class of Germany. If the Versailles peace should work at all, it would mean that the working class of Germany would be forced to moan under a double pressure of both its own bourgeois and the slave drivers of the other nations.

Needless to talk of the fact that the sympathy of the Communist International, the sympathy of the conscious workers of the whole world is with the German working class. The worker Communists of all countries will take the Versailles peace terms as a blow to the international proletariat, as an effort which can be only put down by the combined strength of the proletariat of all countries.

The present German government, which in words protests against the Versailles peace, in fact aids the imperialists of the Allied Powers to realize their hellish purposes in relation to the German working class. The executioner Clemenceau has no truer servants in Germany than Scheidemann and Ebert. The Scheidemann and Ebert Party, from the first moment of the German revolution, humbly danced to the tune of the imperialists of the Allied Powers. Under the direction of Clemenceau, Scheidemann and Ebert sent White Guard armies against Soviet Russia. In order to satisfy the imperialists of the Allied Powers, the Social Democrats, under the leader-

ship of Ebert and Scheidemann, killed Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and with fire and guns crushed the great movement of the German workers to realize Soviet Power. Fulfilling the directions of the London and Paris exchanges, the government of Scheidemann has killed already not less than 10,000 workers Communists of Germany. Each time when the wave of the workers' movement in Germany rose especially high, prepared to wash away the government of traitor Social Democrats, Scheidemann and Ebert threatened the starved workers that if Soviet Power should come to Germany the Allies would refuse to give bread to German people.

The Central Committee of the Scheidemann Social Democratic Party, in its appeal in connection with the Versailles peace, maintains that the Versailles "lesson" is the "best evidence of the correct position of the German Social Democracy on the question of defending the fatherland."

"Socialists of all lands, do you understand at last our way of acting at the time of war?" asks Scheidemann in his appeal.

Oh, hypocrites! Oh, cynics!

The robbers in 1914 fell on the same prey. One of the robbers proved the more successful. This criminal not only grabbed the whole prey which his competitor wanted, but went into the pocket of his rival. Then the other thief, made benefactor through want and having on his face the expression of innocence, appeals to the world and exclaims, "You see the conduct of my rival has shown the entire righteousness of my tactics, is it possible that you do not yet understand that we, Scheidemanns, are whiter than the snow of the English mountains?"

The Versailles peace terms have proven to all conscious workers something altogether different. The enlightened workers of the whole world fully realize that if the German imperialists had been the victors they would have been as unmerciful to the defeated as their rivals are now to them. And then most likely the Hendersons and Renaudels would use the same lying phrases as now Scheidemann and Noske are using.

The Versailles peace terms show us that while Imperialism exists in any country, until then force and robbery will also exist. The Versailles peace terms show that Imperialism of any coalition is equally bloodthirsty. No matter how "democratic" the leaves which they use for covering. Imperialism, it remains the incarnation of barbarism and blood lust.

The Versailles peace terms have shown us that social-patriots of all lands have permanently and forever become the servants of the bourgeois. The Versailles peace terms show how meaningless are the hopes of the sympathizers of the Berne yellow "International," of Kautsky and his friends, about the disarmament under Capitalism,

about the good and beneficent League of Nations under the wing of Wilson. The Versailles peace terms have shown that the bourgeois itself left for the workers of all lands only one road—the road of world revolution, the road across the corpse of Capitalism.

Workers of France! Workers of England! Workers of America! Workers of Italy! The Communist International appeals to you. Upon you depends the destiny of tens of millions of workers of Austria and Germany. You must say your word now. You must pull out of the bloody hands of your government that murderous knife which they have put over the heads of the German and Austrian workers. You must show that for you the lessons of the five-year war have not been in vain. You must not forget for a moment that the victory of the allied imperialists over the German and Austrian workers means a victory of the whole world, a victory over Socialism. You more than anybody else have in your hands the destiny of international Socialism. To you the enlightened workers of the world look. And we are sure that you will fulfill your duty against the advice of your own Scheidemanns.

Workers of Germany! Workers of Austria! Now you see that you have no choice other than the immediate overthrow of the government of traitors calling themselves Social-Democrats, and in fact acting as the meanest agents of the bourgeoisie. You see now where politics of the Noske-Scheidemann type brought you. You see that your only hope lies in the international proletarian revolution.

But this revolution of the proletariat the Scheidemanns and Eberts are trying in every way to crush. When the Scheidemanns and Eberts call in your name to the international proletariat they will meet no answer other than hatred.

Those people who do not protest by a word against the crushing of Soviet Hungary by the armies of the landowners, those people who near Libau are fighting on the side of the German barons—those people cannot count on support from the international proletariat. In your name should speak not Count Brockdorf von Ranzau, not the traitor Landsberg, not the executioners, Noske and Scheidemann. While the present German government is in power the quarrel between Berlin and Paris will be only between the bourgeoisie of two coalitions. All the power in your country must soon go into the hands of the workers' Soviets. In your name, workers, Communists must begin to talk.

Then and only then will you be able to save your country, will you be able to count upon full support from the proletariat of all lands?

The time for indecision has passed. Now it is clear to each one of us that it cannot be worse, that the government of social-traitors has brought you to the edge of the precipice.

Workers of Germany and Austria! Know that proletarians of other countries will never believe in the German Social-Democracy, that Social-Democracy which did not utter one word of protest at the moment when the government of William Hohenzollern forced upon Soviet Russia the Brest-Litovsk peace.

Workers of Germany and Austria! Know that if the Brest-Litovsk peace forced upon Russia in 1918 collapsed so soon, it is because the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the government of the bourgeoisie and social traitors and took the power into their own hands. Only due to this were they able comparatively quickly to break the Brest-Litovsk noose.

World proletarian revolution—this is the only saviour for the oppressed workers of the world!

Dictatorship of the proletariat and the organizations of Soviet Power—this is the only escape for the proletariat of the whole world from the Versailles methods.

While Capitalism exists there can be no real peace. Permanent peace will be possible only on the ruins of the bourgeois state.

Long live the uprising of the workers against oppression! Down with the Versailles peace, down with the new Brest-Litovsk! Down with the government of social-traitors!

Long live Soviet Power throughout the entire world!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.
G. ZINOVIEV, *Chairman*.

EXHIBIT 9.

BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA TO AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN SIBERIA.

SAY, WHAT ARE YOU?

[Published by the English-speaking Communists in Russia and distributed among the Allied troops in the North (via Harzfeld Military Intelligence, No. 2275 D-12).]

We are living to-day in one of the most interesting, most crucial periods in the world history. We are standing on the threshold of a new age. We are entering into the period of the emancipation of labour from the thralldom of wage slavery. It is the time of which poets have dreamed. The time for which in every country men and women have striven for long years, have gone to prison, have sacrificed their lives.

For over a century the working people have slaved in factory and mine, in poverty, in misery and dirt. Slaving that their masters may grow rich. Living in hovels, or teeming block tenements, while their masters lived in palaces. Feeding on cheap and coarse food,

while their masters fed on the finest that Nature and the art of man produced. Their clothes were of the slop and shoddy kind, while their masters could command all the art and skill to clothe them. The lives of the workers were a narrow round of work, sleep, with not infrequent intervals of unemployment. Unemployment; that grim spectre that haunted the workers day in, day out. The constant fear of that dread order, "the sack." The while the masters were living lives of riotous luxury that outrivaled the debauchery of the ancient empires.

The more he toiled and moiled and added to the wealth of the world the richer his master became, the poorer and less secure became his own life and that of his wife and little ones.

Say, American and British soldiers, what are you? Are you not workmen? Does this not apply to you?

Four years ago the capitalists of the world plunged into this war for fresh territories to dominate, for new wage slaves to exploit. They deluded their peoples into believing they were fighting for freedom, for humanity. Millions have been crushed under the Juggernaut of the war.

But the war proved to be the last mad act of the greedy, plundering class. Four years of intense agony has at last aroused the world's wage slaves. At last they realize their subjection, and in doing so realize their strength. Like Samson in the hall of the Philistines, Labor grasps the pillars of capitalist society and the whole structure is shaking to its foundations. Thrones are tumbling like skittles. Revolution like a cleansing gale sweeps through Europe and stirs the workers into action. Russia led the way. The rule of Tzarism is ended forever. Capitalism has received its death blow. Henceforth in Russia the produce of labor will go to those who work.

Bulgaria has followed. Ferdinand has flown; the rank and file of the army have overthrown the authority of their officers, and maintain a revolutionary discipline through Soldiers' Councils.

The ruling class of Turkey has collapsed.

The Austrian Empire has fallen to pieces like an old cask, and the workers are gradually securing the mastery.

Finally in Germany the end of the Hohenzollerns, and the Junker clique has come. The workers and soldiers of Germany have overthrown the Kaiser and are now preparing for the final struggle to completely overthrow the capitalist class and establish a Soviet Republic as in Russia.

East and central Europe is aflame with the revolt. The exploiting class has in some countries fallen, and in others are on the point of falling. The dawn of the day of Labor's emancipation has come!

Say! American and British soldiers, what are you?

Do you not feel stirred by the throb of new life that is pulsating through the veins of your fellow workers? Are you just dull clods? Or are you living humans with hopes and desires for the future?

Are you forever going to allow yourselves to be rolled in mud and blood for the sake of your exploiters? Are you satisfied to resume the life of endless toil, of dull monotony, and a pauper's end? Do you wish to condemn your children to the same stunted purposeless existence? Or does not the future hold out something better both for you and for them?

Then what are you waiting for? Do you think some deliverer from on high will come to your relief? If so, you wait in vain. "Those who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

But we ask you a much more serious question. Are you going to act as the gunmen, the hired bullies for international capitalist in the criminal task of crushing the attempt of your own class to free itself? The capitalist class of the Allied countries see quite clearly that the tide of revolution threatens to overwhelm them, too. They are straining every nerve to stem it, and they use you for the task. They feed you with lies to poison your minds against your fellow workers so that you will be the more willing to drown the workers' revolution in a sea of blood.

You have started on this criminal job already. What do you think you are doing here in Russia? In spite of all the lies you have been told, you are being used for the purpose of crushing the Russian Revolution and restoring the land to the landlords and the factories and mines to the capitalist. Your capitalists know that if they can crush the Russian Revolution they will take the heart out of the revolutionary movement in other countries.

Just think, you, who consider yourselves the citizens of "free" countries, have come to put us back into wage slavery.

Comrades, refuse to do the shameful thing. Rid your minds of the poison instilled by the capitalists. Listen to the voice of freedom calling to you.

In your home countries, too, the Spirit of the Times is awakening. There are strikes and demonstrations the workers are demanding your recall. Their cry is "Hands off Russia." You must respond to the call of your folks at home. Take the matter into your own hands and pitch it. You take the lead and the people at home will soon follow and sweep the gang of capitalists and landlords out of power.

You have arms. You know how to use them. Will you like slaves use them in defense of your master, or will you use them to help your class be free? If the former, then know that you will meet with the determined resistance of the united revolutionary people of

East and Central Europe, and History will be your judge. If the latter then here's a hearty welcome into the ranks of international labor.

Is it war, then? Would ye perish like dry wood in the fire?
Is it peace? Then be ye of us, let your hopes be our desire.
Come and live, for life waketh and the world shall never tire.
For the host goes marching on.

On we march then, we the workers, and the romour that you hear
Is the sound of blended battle, and deliverance drawing near,
For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear,
And the world goes marching on.

(Signed) N. LENIN,
President of the Council of Peoples Commissary.
G. TCHICHERIN,
Peoples Cominssary for Foreign Affairs.

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